



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Falin Holds News Conference on Foreign Issues

Political Solution Urged for Gulf Crisis

LD3110142190 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT
31 Oct 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Konstantin Voit-sekhovich and Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—It is necessary initially to "exhaust all chances for a political settlement" of the Gulf crisis before considering other measures, secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee Valentin Falin told a news conference here today.

In considering ways out of the current crisis, he believes, one should base oneself on the long-term interests of peace and security in the region.

"A long-term settlement rather than power pressure is the most effective and correct way out of any crisis."

Falin disagreed with suggestions that the recent mission to Baghdad by Soviet presidential envoy Yevgeniy Primakov was inconclusive. Calling the mission "useful" because "it gave both sides additional things to think about", Falin said: "We have learned more about the motives and analysis that determine Iraqi leadership's actions, while Iraq found out that the USSR would insist on complete implementation of U.N. Security Council resolutions."

Asked about Soviet-Japanese relations in light of the "northern territories" problem, Falin replied that "the fewer preconditions each side attaches to reforming relations in a modern, constructive way, the sooner we attain that goal".

Falin was asked to evaluate current relations between the USSR and Cuba. He admitted, in particular, that "we have difficulties with Cuba". "Relations with it are undergoing a trying period of adaptation, in particular, towards changes in Central and Eastern Europe, towards modifications in the methods of payment for foreign trade transactions."

This does not mean that relations between the two countries "are facing a crisis".

Speaking about the contacts of Russian Federation representatives with Afghan rebels regarding Soviet prisoners of war, Falin briefly replied: "judging by what we know, Boris Yeltsin's staff has more desire to contact the rebels, than the latter have to contact them".

Falin said that unlike previous years, the Communist Party will not invite guests this year "specially for the celebrations of the October Revolution anniversary".

Raised at the news conference was the situation arising in connection with the transfer of the funds of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) into foreign accounts of the joint Soviet-Cypriot venture "Putnik".

In particular, Falin said that the Communist Party Central Committee learned about these events only several hours after police invaded PDS headquarters in Berlin. According to Falin, they were even not sure at first whether a venture by that name even existed. (There is an organisation "Sputnik" in the USSR which sounds similar).

Attempts, both direct and indirect, to link the CPSU with this scandal reflect the desire of certain people or circles "to fish in murky waters". In this case, Falin said, "Putnik's" representatives engaged in an illegal financial operation counting to cash in on the difficult situation in which the PDS found itself.

Falin said the PDS's debt on "unpaid settlements", which was established during Gregor Gysi's brief visit to Moscow, stands at nearly one million roubles.

Chinese Relations Viewed

PM0111132590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Nov 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Speaking at a 31 October news conference in Moscow, V.M. Falin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, refuted the claims of some foreign mass media that the mission of the USSR president's special representative to the conflict zone in the Persian Gulf was not crowned with success. Ye. M. Primakov's visits to the Near East were useful, they provided additional material for thought, he said, adding: We learned more about Iraq's motives and means of operation, and that has strengthened our resolve to insist on the complete fulfillment of the Security Council decisions.

Touching on the influence of perestroika processes on Soviet-Chinese relations and in particular on questions of collaboration between the CPSU and the CPC, V.M. Falin noted their exceptional importance not only for the two countries but also on the global scale. Treating what has been achieved carefully, advancing step by step while respecting each other's interests—that, in the opinion of the CPSU Central Committee secretary, is how these relations should develop. The CPSU and the CPC have their own particularities in assessing a number of fundamental questions of world development, but there is also a great deal of similarity in their approaches toward particular problems. This creates a sufficiently solid basis for further contacts, including through party channels.

To a question from a journalist asking whether it is true that the Soviet Union intends to hand over to Japan two islands of the Kuril ridge (reports about this appeared recently in several foreign mass media), the CPSU Central Committee secretary gave a negative reply. Commenting on press items on the subject of the so-called "northern territories," he noted that the fewer preliminary conditions each side puts forward, the more rapidly it will be possible to achieve success.

Answering a question about the prospects of mutual relations between the USSR and Cuba, V.M. Falin noted that each nation has the right to select its own path of development. Relations between our countries are now experiencing a complex process of adaptation to the new conditions. Nonetheless it cannot be said that some crisis is developing in them. We have common interests, considerable experience of cooperation has been accumulated, which has become an important factor of world development, and that makes it possible to look forward with optimism, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed.

New European Relations Assessed

LD0111000490 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Report by correspondent V. Stefanov on news conference held by V.M. Falin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for Soviet and foreign journalists at the CPSU Central Committee Press Center in Moscow on 31 October; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Stefanov] The questions that were put to the CPSU Central Committee secretary responsible for the party's international links naturally dealt mostly with foreign policy. One of the first concerned the CPSU's attitude to the crisis in the Persian Gulf. In reply, the thought was expressed that for all the tragic character of events in that region, they could and should give rise to fresh development in the world. With respect to ways to settle the conflict, the position of the CPSU is unchanging: the possibilities for a non-military solution have not been exhausted.

Comrade Falin was asked if irreconcilable ideologies will be able to get along within the European home that the Soviet Union encouraged to be built. His view was that pluralism of social systems, the multiparty system, and pluralism of opinions presuppose the existence of different ideologies, but these ideologies are not entitled to wage wars against each other, as was the case just quite recently.

The news conference, of course, could not fail to deal with the financial scandal in Germany's Party of Democratic Socialism. Does the CPSU have anything to do with this matter?

[Falin] I think that the attempts, direct or indirect, to link the CPSU somehow with this scandal reflect in general a striving by certain persons or circles to muddy the waters, and then to fish in them. The question, as such, of the indebtedness of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Party for Democratic Socialism to the CPSU has never been considered with any third parties in any context, and the question did not arise with respect to Putnik [enterprise linked to the money transfer].

Rejects Role in German Party Scandal

LD3110121290 Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1020 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The CPSU has once more decisively rejected "attempts by certain circles within the

PDS [Party for Democratic Socialism]" to implicate it in its financial manipulations. Valentin Falin, head of the International Relations Department of the CPSU Central Committee, told the international press in Moscow today that the attempt to implicate his party in the scandal reflected the efforts by certain circles to muddy the waters to their advantage.

Falin said the CPSU Central Committee learned about the suspected financial manipulations only after the first police search of PDS headquarters. Before that his party had not had the slightest inkling of this transaction. He described it as a myth that what is involved is a settling of costs for an "international labor movement center." This had been thought out by crooks to cover up their illegal dealings.

Falin announced that after the visit by PDS boss Gregor Gysi to Moscow, which had been in connection with the financial relations between the two parties, all documents had been checked once again. SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] and PDS debts amounting to one million roubles were established in this check. The settlement of this liability was prevented by internal complications on the German side last year.

Shevardnadze Interviewed on Foreign Relations

91UF0102A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 43, Oct 90 pp 4-5

[Interview with Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY special correspondent D. Makarov: "E. Shevardnadze: The West Is Interested in the Stability of the USSR; In the Next Four to Five Years the United States Plans To Reduce Military Expenditures by \$140 Billion"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] On 18 October, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs E. Shevardnadze paid a one-day visit to Vienna, where he met with Austrian and French colleagues.

On his way back, E. Shevardnadze gave an interview to Soviet journalists who accompanied him on his trip, which was shown on Central Television, and afterwards he answered questions from D. Makarov, ARGUMENTY I FAKTY special correspondent.

[Makarov] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, the visit of the Soviet president to France and Spain was just announced. We often get letters from our readers in which they express doubt about the need for such visits when our country is in a deep crisis. They write that there is a minister of foreign affairs, so let him handle foreign policy. What is your view on this?

[Shevardnadze] We are all profoundly upset by the difficult situation that has developed in our country. But I think that, in spite of this, the president continuously must be involved in foreign policy. This is in the interests of internal stability and the resolution of the very complicated social and economic problems we have run into. Of course, it is

necessary to primarily use the minister of foreign affairs to resolve foreign policy questions, but the minister cannot be a substitute for the president.

I will tell you that just yesterday morning (that is, 17 October) M.S. Gorbachev's visit to France and Spain was still in question. He himself expressed serious doubts about the possibility of the trip. The Presidential Council was convened, it discussed all the pluses and minuses and, taking the situation in the world and in the country into account, and we decided that the visit is, nonetheless, necessary. The length of the trip was reduced to a minimum: one day in France and two days in Spain.

Understand, we cannot isolate the country from the outside world. No matter how events turn out in our country, not one of the nations living in the USSR will win anything if we isolate ourselves or do not maintain ourselves as a great power, and as, I will not be afraid to use this word, a superpower.

[Makarov] But there are republics that see their interests differently. The three Baltic republics and Georgia declared that under no circumstances will they sign a Union treaty. It seems that neither you nor the president can speak on their behalf?

[Shevardnadze] I do not want to jump ahead, but negotiations are going on with the republics, and I think that in the end they will acquire that freedom in their foreign policy which they need. At the same time, they have common interests for whose defense they can delegate authority to the Union Government. All of the republics are interested in a strong foreign policy, but it can be implemented only through the preservation of unity.

Now it is necessary to decide the question: What should be retained by the center and what, by the republics. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is preparing a program for the formation of a structure for the participation of the republics in the development of foreign policy. This process must take place gradually, but it is already apparent now that many foreign policy functions can be painlessly transferred to the republics.

Perhaps this sounds immodest; however, it is hard to imagine what difficulties we would encounter if we had not achieved a mutual understanding with the West European countries on the question of preserving our internal unity. We are receiving strong economic support from the West on most favorable terms, and they support us politically and morally at the most diverse levels: from state leaders to the general public. They understand in the West that without stability in our country there can be no stability in the world.

[Makarov] Your last speech to the USSR Supreme Soviet evoked criticism from some deputies in military uniform. How is Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defense coordination arranged from the standpoint of the arms reduction negotiations?

[Shevardnadze] All criticism has to be heeded and taken into account, even if you do not agree with it inwardly. As long as it is correct—from the standpoint of reasoning.

In negotiations on questions of disarmament, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, and other departments constitute our country's integral foreign policy system. There are also arguments in the stage of developing negotiating positions, but this is normal, just as criticism is normal during parliamentary debates. They both guarantee not simply the correctness of our position but the security of the country first and foremost.

Well, negotiations are a bilateral process, and, while defending our own interests in them, we also have to consider the interests of the partner. And, incidentally, this is well understood in the United States.

In the next four to five years, the Americans plan to reduce military expenditures by \$180 billion [figure as published] at a minimum. American forces in Europe will be reduced by 40,000 persons. The process of cutting armies and arms and expenditures on defense has started not only in the United States, but also in the other NATO countries.

Let us take a look at these figures, taking into account our own capabilities: economic, financial, social, and others. I think that we are vitally interested in the process of disarmament; of course, on principles of parity. There are many arguments in favor of this. Arguments and facts.

[Makarov] There is quite a lot of material in the Soviet press now that is critical of regimes that remain in their understanding loyal to socialism—Cuba, the DPRK, and Vietnam. On the other hand, there is sharp criticism of our government for giving too much economic assistance to these regimes. What do you think about this?

[Shevardnadze] We have proclaimed the principle of freedom of choice. The changes in Eastern Europe are proof that these are not empty words. At the same time, do we have a right to force on anyone our idea of what kind of a regime should govern in one or another country?

I think that we would be going to a reverse extreme, if we tried to force our understanding of the ideas of freedom on another people. Each nation must determine for itself the kind of system it needs.

As for the second part of your question, the oversimplified approach is also frequent here. The fundamentals of our relations with socialist countries were set decades ago, based on our political and strategic views at that time. And at that time our countries assumed obligations to mutually develop cooperation in the economic, military, and other spheres.

Our misfortune was that we were unable to build relations on the basis of mutual benefit either with Mongolia, Cuba, or Vietnam. We did not even strive for this. Therefore, the change to a track of mutual benefit is going very badly.

[Makarov] At that time, the "benefit" to us was that Cuba was looked upon as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" near the shores of the United States, for which we, as a matter of fact, were paying. Now, this is no longer a benefit in our eyes.

[Shevardnadze] We must remember that we are a great power, and to tell any nation that we needed you yesterday but not today is simply not done. Also, the concept of fairness exists in mutual relations between nations. It does not take a lot of brains to break off relations. You see, we broke off diplomatic relations with Israel in 1967, and we thereby limited ourselves. Had we maintained these relations, it would have been possible to influence the formation of necessary security structures in the Near East more actively.

We have just established relations with South Korea. Probably this should have been done 15-20 years ago. Or, for example, in 1973 we broke off relations with Chile, and I think that this also was an unwise step.

[Makarov] Now the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has established contacts with the government of the Afghan opposition on the question of releasing our prisoners of war. What do you think about this?

[Shevardnadze] We support any actions aimed at freeing our soldiers from captivity. We ourselves are conducting negotiations and instituting contacts through all possible

channels and avenues, and we are using open and so-called closed diplomacy at a governmental level in international organizations and at a level of unofficial contacts. Unfortunately, the people in our country are not sufficiently aware of what efforts the Soviet Government is undertaking in this respect. But, you see, 111 servicemen have already been released from captivity. It is said that the question of the fate of the prisoners of war allegedly was ignored in the Geneva agreements. But the captives were in the hands of the opposition, which did not participate and did not want to participate in the negotiations. But then, should we not have conducted negotiations, delayed them, and thereby multiplied our killed, wounded, and captive losses?

I must say frankly that without the help of President Najibullah we would not have been able to save even one person. The Afghan Government gave the opposition 25 mujahidin prisoners for one of our prisoners. Therefore, I would recommend to everyone who enters into a dialogue with the opposition not to ignore the government in Kabul. And another thing: Clear signals from many places obviously indicate the need to unite forces, and not to disperse them.

If the mujahidin will enter into contacts with deputies of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and as a result just one prisoner of war is freed, this will be a great achievement. When necessary, we will give them every possible assistance.

United States & Canada

Cheney Cited on Armed Forces Reductions

PM0111143990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Nov 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Pentagon's 'Five-Year Plan'"]

[Text] Washington, 31 Oct.—In the next few years the United States may review the structure and reduce the numerical strength of its Armed Forces. This was stated Tuesday by U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney, speaking in Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania) at the council for international affairs.

"In the past year there have been colossal changes in the world," the Pentagon chief noted. "Democratically elected governments have come to power in the East European countries. Even those of us who voiced firm skepticism regarding the possibilities for changes in the Soviet Union are persuaded that the changes taking place in this country are of a striking and phenomenal nature."

According to the secretary, under conditions when "the threat of a surprise global war has evaporated," for the United States it will be "expedient to reexamine within the next two to three years the initial premises on which its military power is built." In this connection he voiced the idea of adopting "a new scenario for forming the Armed Forces" and of concentrating efforts on creating "regional troop contingents" like the grouping now in the Persian Gulf region.

Considering these structural changes, "the United States could reduce the numerical strength of its Armed Forces by approximately 25 percent in the next five years," the Pentagon chief said. "The U.S. Army will consist of 12 to 14 divisions as against the 18 which exist now. The number of Air Force wings will be reduced from 36 to approximately 28. The U.S. Navy will be reduced from 600 to approximately 450 warships."

At the same time, the secretary stated that "even with a considerable improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, it is essential to remain a strong military power." In his opinion this need has been convincingly proven by the crisis in the Persian Gulf region. In this connection, the defense secretary stressed that the United States will keep "Atlantic troops" in Europe and Pacific troops in Japan, and will keep on its own territory those forces which "in the event of a crisis could reinforce the contingents deployed abroad." "We will also undoubtedly retain our 'fourth force'—our strategic nuclear potential," Cheney added.

Canadian Human Rights Leader Views Ethnic Ties

LD3110193190 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT
31 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Dunayevskiy]

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—"The conclusion of a new Union treaty should help solve the problem of

inter-ethnic relations in the USSR. It is as yet unclear whether it will be a federation, confederation or association," said Chingiz Aytmatov.

Aytmatov, who is a member of the Soviet Presidential Council, today met Maxwell Yalden, chairman of the Canadian Human Rights Commission.

Aytmatov believes that the most acceptable variant would be a combination of the different levels of sovereign states' integration in a single community.

Freedom of personality and protection of its interests are becoming a reality in the USSR, Aytmatov said. At the same time, this process is attended by several negative phenomena: legal nihilism, a surge in national selfishness and outright negation of former generations' historical achievements. For this reason, experience in solving such problems amassed by mankind is important to the Soviet Union, Aytmatov said.

Yalden acquainted Aytmatov in detail with the mechanism to implement the human rights law, adopted by the Canadian Federal Parliament in 1977 and the activity of the commission headed by him.

China

Influence of Army in Chinese Politics Examined

OW0111051890 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1315 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Commentary by M. Osokin; from the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The military continues to have some significance in politics. This is a conclusion one could draw from our next report.

[Osokin] The Chinese Army is the object that is presently at the center of attention of many observers. Assertions have appeared in the British paper FINANCIAL TIMES to the effect that some officers have formed a secret group that intends to return former Communist Party leader Zhao Ziyang to power. These officers also believe the party must reassess the events you are now viewing on your screen. Last summer the student disturbances in Beijing's Tiananmen Square were crushed by force. It was after this that Zhao Ziyang was dismissed from the post of general secretary; this was reportedly done due to his unwillingness to use troops against the demonstrators.

Currently, according to the FINANCIAL TIMES, which quotes sources in the Chinese Army, a group of Zhao supporters has become sufficiently consolidated and has won the support of at least one of the highest commanders who protested against the use of troops. It is the paper's opinion that all of this attests to a deep split in the Army, while some observers even talk about differences in the leadership. They see indirect evidence of this in articles appearing in the Chinese press. For example, the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO attacked

statements supporting freedom for factions within the party, calling this an extremely dangerous manifestation. Press agencies report that despite recent decrees on strengthening ties between the party and the masses, leading workers are apparently incapable of fully controlling the ideological state of society and effectively implementing the policy of the center.

According to the news agency REUTER, the calls for unity conceal a power struggle and differences in the top leadership. As Premier Li Peng said recently, the year since the Tiananmen events has shown that China will never forgo its principles and will never bow to outside pressure. But in the meantime, according to some observers, pressures are building up within from those who favor change.

Conference Assesses Chinese Economic Reform

PM3010162590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 90 p 3

[Report by M. Morozov: "Socialism on Earth—Academics Have Been Arguing About the Problems of Contemporary China at a Scientific Conference"]

[Text] Socialism is going through a profound crisis. This crisis has already provoked a social revolution, so far, it is true, only in the minds of Soviet citizens who have opted for a society that is more progressive from the point of view of supplying salami and tights. Formerly they tried to convince us of the possibility of the coexistence of the market with socialism; now talk of a social model in which these market relations would develop has on the whole died away, or amorphous formulae of the "socialist perspective" type are used. The people, who expend much time in search of grub and in the performance of basic necessities, think about this increasingly rarely.

Nevertheless, the question as to whether socialism's crisis will mean its death as a socioeconomic formation remains on the agenda. Time, of course, will supply the final answer to this question. However, forecasts on this subject are essential on a strictly scientific level, in order to steer society's course and avoid mistakes which are inevitable when the direction of movement is not known.

This question sounded like a refrain at an international scientific conference held in Moscow on the problems of studying contemporary China. Though not attempting to refute the claim that it is from the mistakes of others that the wise man learns, we often repeat our own mistakes. At the same time, our country has a unique opportunity to enrich itself with the experience of our neighbor and our brother in socialist reality.

Anyone who has taken even the slightest interest in China has probably asked the question, why this country, which began perestroika in 1978, has managed within seven or eight years to secure a qualitatively superior standard of living for its billion-strong people, who until

recently had been half starving? Yet we have already been marking time for five years, thereby complicating the solution of the problems still further. The Chinese experience of overcoming crises should without question be of interest to us. After all, there is so much in common in the history of the two countries: histories abounding in experimentation. In one speech at the conference the idea was heard that there are clever brains in China who see the way out of a crisis not through acceleration, as was attempted in the USSR, but via rectification [uregulirovaniye]. Only now in our economic strategy has the long-awaited word finally been heard, having been introduced by Shatalin and Aganbegyan: normalization (of finances, the consumer market, and so forth). One possible conclusion is that it is impossible to embark upon serious profound reforms in the economy and in society as a whole directly from a state of crisis, where everything is collapsing.

Of definite interest to us is the experience accumulated by China in the sphere of attracting foreign capital and creating so-called special economic zones. Articles on this topic regularly appear in our press. Unfortunately, here, too, the uncritical approach which has been widespread in recent times blinds peoples' eyes. Often we are unable to see the mistakes and problems behind the phenomenon's facade. At the same time, strict scientific analysis by our Sinologists, taking into account of the objective criticism of the Chinese themselves, would be useful in elaborating concepts for exploiting foreign capital in the Soviet Union. China's experience suggests that, for the dynamic growth of foreign capital investment, in addition to many other conditions, a legislative base, above all juridical guarantees for foreign investors and their profits, is essential. In our country these factors have been poorly worked out. Moreover, the government apparently has no clearly thought-out program for creating joint enterprises, which would provide an incentive for foreigners and direct their interests precisely into those spheres where this would be most advantageous for our people. It is not enough to proclaim a free economic zone, for example, in Nakhodka. It is necessary to know how to overcome the many difficulties on this path: weak infrastructure, shortages of skilled cadres, housing....

The "Cultural Revolution," the "Great Leap Forward," "communes"—when China is mentioned, associations of a similar kind often arise in people's minds. Yes, China experienced something no less destructive than our own collectivization. Thousands of people were driven into the Chinese communes and forced to work for a small bowl of rice. Nowadays the Chinese countryside is also experiencing many difficulties. Grain production is increasing very slowly. Nevertheless, in the course of reform China's "depeasantized" agriculture was successfully dragged out of its impoverished existence. This was achieved mainly through transferring the land on long-term leases to those who worked it, without multibillion cash injections from the state. Even today the peasant's main tool is often the mattock.

Contemporary China, which is building "socialism with Chinese characteristics," has encountered many problems on the road to reform. The result of this was the political hurricane which swept across Tiananmen Square and very nearly caught the government buildings.

It is interesting that conference participants devoted attention to an article by the U.S. political scientist Fukuyama, "The End of History," which was recently published in Russian. The main idea is contained in the title of the article—the end of socialism and the transition of all mankind to a society of universal consumerism means the end of history.

The researches by Soviet Sinologists shows that history is continuing.

Chinese, Soviet Newspapers Contribute to Ties

PM2910170990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by L. Kuznetsov: "Moscow-Beijing: PRAVDA's Guests"]

[Text] A delegation from the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO headed by its chief editor, Comrade Shao Huajie, is visiting the Soviet Union at PRAVDA's invitation.

The delegation took part in a session of the PRAVDA editorial collegium. Then there was a conversation with I.T. Frolov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chief editor of the newspaper. Continuing the description of PRAVDA and its role in the life of the party and society begun at the editorial collegium session, I.T. Frolov noted, in particular, that Soviet readers' interest in the life of China's people is constantly growing. In this connection PRAVDA's plans include various publications about the PRC.

For his part Comrade Shao Huajie said that a similar phenomenon can also be observed in China with regard to the USSR. Recently, he noted, RENMIN RIBAO has been publishing a great deal of material about life in the Soviet Union. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the PRC has lent fresh impetus to the development of Soviet-Chinese relations in all spheres. We are glad that a RENMIN RIBAO bureau has opened in Moscow and a PRAVDA bureau in Beijing. Our papers must contribute to cooperation between the Soviet Union and the PRC and raise it to a higher level. As an organ of the CPC Central Committee, we pursue a line of strengthening friendship between the USSR and the PRC and between our parties.

The program for the delegation's stay includes, not only trips to Moscow, but also visits to Leningrad and the Crimea and meetings with working people, party and soviet personnel, journalists, and cultural figures.

The delegation of the Chinese Communists' newspaper will take part in the celebrations of the 73d anniversary of Great October in Moscow.

Northeast Asia

'Emergency Humanitarian Aid' Sought From Japan

OW0111112990 Tokyo KYODO in English 1114 GMT
1 Nov 90

[Text] Tokyo, Nov. 1 KYODO—The Soviet Union is seeking "emergency humanitarian aid" from Japan in the form of medicine, food, and essential consumer goods to make up for severe shortages before the harsh winter, a senior Soviet diplomat said Thursday.

"Urgently providing the Soviet domestic market with consumer goods, foodstuffs, and medicine is extremely important for the future course of perestroika," said the diplomat, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

"We would be deeply grateful to whomever provides us with assistance during such a difficult and painful period," he said.

The diplomat also called for Japan to extend credits and commodity loans to the Soviet Union.

The specific requests were an elaboration on an appeal for Japanese assistance last Friday by Soviet Ambassador to Japan Lyudvig Chizhov.

A Foreign Ministry official said the Soviets have not officially requested urgent humanitarian aid.

The official said Chizhov met recently with Deputy Foreign Minister Koji Watanabe and explained in general terms the Soviet Union's need for economic assistance in light of the economic crisis there.

An official Soviet request for humanitarian aid could be considered by Japan after close consultations with its partners in the West, he said.

He added, however, that Japan adheres to its stance of not extending financial assistance to Moscow as long as the Soviets occupy four islands off Hokkaido claimed by Japan.

Despite the territorial dispute, Japan has recently pledged technical and intellectual support for the Soviet reform program. It extended humanitarian aid to the Soviet Union two years ago after an earthquake devastated Soviet Armenia.

The Soviet diplomat said his country is suffering in particular from a shortage of medicine, with some 1,500 medical products out of stock.

Over the past few years several large Soviet chemical plants have been shut down for environmental reasons, he said, contributing to the shortage.

As for the critical shortages of food and essential consumer goods, especially in Moscow, he quoted a television report that said "only half in jest" that lines in front of Moscow shops have finally disappeared over the past couple weeks because there is nothing left on the shelves.

The diplomat warned that the situation may become worse as winter approaches.

The Soviet Government is facing growing public discontent at the sacrifices associated with economic reforms.

TASS Views 'Team Spirit' Exercises in Korea

*LD3110184690 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT
31 Oct 90*

[By TASS political analyst Askold Biryukov]

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—The Soviet Union and the United States have both ceased regarding each other as enemies and have started military political consultations on a systematic basis. Tendencies have surfaced to normalise the situation in the Asian-Pacific region and to undo the tight knots of regional conflicts there. All this affected the situation on the Korean peninsula—a sore spot of the region.

Recently, the Soviet Union, guided by its new thinking policy, established diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea, a state that cannot be ignored as a major political, economic and military factor. The normalisation of relations between the two countries was meant to facilitate the removal of military and political tension on the Korean peninsula and help promote dialogue between the two Korean states with a view to peaceful unification.

This dialogue has already begun at a high level. The prime ministers of North Korea and South Korea met in Seoul and Pyongyang for the first time after decades of confrontation and despite the heavy burden of distrust and suspicion. They spoke about the search for accords in the military-political sphere, the removal of antagonisms, and the development of cooperation. If the dialogue continues successfully, a summit meeting is a possibility.

There are other signs of change for the better. Pyongyang and Tokyo have expressed readiness to normalise relations between North Korea and Japan. South Korean and Chinese trade missions with consular functions have opened in Seoul and Beijing. Washington and Pyongyang are taking tentative steps to meet each other halfway. A number of states have made interesting proposals to begin easing military tension on the peninsula and in Southeast Asia. The Soviet Union is also working in this direction.

Interesting reports have arrived from Seoul on joint efforts by the United States and South Korea aimed at reducing or even cancelling the large-scale American-North Korean [as received] "Team Spirit" military exercises in 1991. The South Korean MBC television network said the first variant envisaged restricting the participation in the maneuvers of the U.S. troops deployed in South Korea. The second variant suggests

replacing the maneuvers by staff exercises with the participation of officers representing the Armed Forces of the two countries.

It is difficult as yet to judge the possible implications of these reports. Were they prompted by events in the Gulf, which made the United States deploy forces that usually took part in "Team Spirit" maneuvers, was it economic considerations or the awareness of the need to avoid pouring more oil into the fire that might still erupt in the atmosphere or continued high tension in North-South relations?

Whether the maneuvers will be held or cancelled next year will be decided during bilateral consultations in Washington in November. It is naturally desirable to see the two sides reach a decision consistent with the spirit of positive changes in the world.

Experience has shown that the "Team Spirit" exercises did little to alleviate tensions. Their effect has always been to escalate tension in the region. Under today's conditions, a danger exists that these maneuvers can only undermine chances of success in the talks between North Korea and South Korea. Conversely, the reduction of their scale, or their end altogether would certainly facilitate military detente on the Korean peninsula and contribute to further progress in relations between the two Koreas.

Near East & South Asia

Primakov Interviewed Upon Return From Mideast

*LD3110210190 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1842 GMT 31 Oct 90*

[Interview with Presidential Council member Ye.M. Primakov, upon his return from his Middle East tour as special presidential envoy, by USSR Gosteleradio correspondent Kim Gerasimov on 31 October; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Gerasimov] Yevgeniy Maksimovich, what was the rationale behind your last trip to the Middle East?

[Primakov] Well, first of all I would like to say that the idea of the trip belongs to President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The rationale is as follows: In our time one must, without a doubt, not let slide [spuskat' na tormozakh] aggressive actions committed by one state against another—especially the annexation of a UN member-state. Here we have adopted a very firm position, a position that has on the whole been absolutely shared by the world community. But, at the same time, events are leading toward war. A war in the Middle East could have catastrophic consequences. It is not only a question of the number of dead, or the extent of destruction; it is also a question of the situation being completely destabilized after this war. Anyway, there are quite definite forecasts. Therefore, to avoid these consequences, while attaining the goals that have been set—to

withdraw Iraqi troops from Kuwait—this mission was undertaken. I would like to stress once more that it was undertaken purposefully.

[Gerasimov] Can one speak about any practical results of your mission?

[Primakov] A very serious exchange of views took place, and this is already the third trip. First, there was a trip to visit Saddam Husayn, the Iraqi president. There, while staying in the Middle East, I had an opportunity to speak with both King Husayn and Yasir 'Arafat. Then after that, there was a trip to Europe and the United States, where I had meetings with President Bush, Prime Minister Thatcher, Prime Minister Andreotti, President Mitterrand, foreign ministers, and so on. Now there is the third round. The third round, well, again: President Asad of Syria; Mubarak, president of Egypt; other officials in those two countries and, finally, another visit to Saddam Husayn and, later, to King Fahd of Saudi Arabia.

The exchange of views was very useful, I think. As a matter of fact, all the partners with whom I happened to meet stressed the extraordinary importance of the efforts made by the Soviet Union, and all wanted us to carry on with our efforts.

I would not say that they will be crowned with success. Here it is necessary to simply maintain perhaps a very limited optimism because, unfortunately, by no means does everything depend on us. At the same time, however, this very mission, by its accomplishments, is already creating a more agreeable background for movement toward the peace option. The Soviet flag has been shown, and it is being perceived very positively. We are a superpower and we have our own line, our own policies; we are demonstrating this point. The policies are aimed at establishing new relations, excluding the possibility of aggression or reward for it, and at the same time there is the policy of using everything that we have to the maximum to avoid military catastrophes.

[Gerasimov] Please discuss the problem of our specialists, including military ones, if it is possible.

[Primakov] I can say that I was, as a matter of fact, discussing this; I was answering a question about the practical results of the mission. I began with policies, and obviously it would have been just as possible to begin with another issue, which is, from my point of view, even more important—that is, the fate of people, our people, who are in Iraq. There were about 5,000 of them, and I must say that because of the urgent nature of the issue—I was guided in this by the instructions received from USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev—at first I was able to agree to 1,500 of our specialists leaving Baghdad, in accordance with a month-long schedule. Therefore, from 5 October to November, this schedule is being observed in full.

This time a conversation took place—also at the instruction of Mikhail Sergeyevich—on a certain level, when I said to the Iraqi president that there are no grounds to

hold Soviet people who want to leave Iraq. This part of the conversation took place in a fairly pointed atmosphere. The Iraqi president said that no one will be held for political reasons, and he actually confirmed the agreement that all Soviet people who want to leave Iraq can do this—and this means our specialists. We now have around 800 additional, unsatisfied requests by Soviet people in Iraq handed in to the embassy. I agreed to the schedule for the departure of another 1,000 during November. There is unconditional permission for all the rest to leave, if they want to. Thus, by the end of the month, all our people who want to leave for their homeland will have the opportunity to do so.

You touched on the question of military specialists. This is a very important question, because we have around 80—maybe a few more, around 90—military specialists there on contract; I am not including interpreters. Up until the last minute the Iraqi authorities tried to exclude them from the general list, and even when the appropriate registration was completed, some military specialists were taken off the plane. So, in fact, they were not allowed to leave. Thirty-four military experts were not allowed to leave, literally a few days ago. I put the matter to them in a fairly pointed manner. The Iraqi president, Saddam Husayn, called on his secretary and gave him a categorical order: After completion of their contracts, all military specialists are to be allowed to leave for home. On 1 November, 34 people will be on a plane and will leave for Moscow.

[Gerasimov] Yevgeniy Maksimovich, what other issues were touched on during your meeting with Saddam Husayn?

[Primakov] Well, naturally, of course, the issue of withdrawing his troops from Kuwait; this is absolutely clear. It seems to me that there are some shifts here. In any case, there is a difference between the way he formulated the issue on 5 October, during my first conversation, and now, on 28 October, during the second conversation. During the first conversation he simply said that Kuwait is a part of Iraqi territory and adduced some arguments to substantiate this view and so on. This time he did not raise either the issue or the arguments. It seems to me that he is now more in favor of a political solution, although I cannot rule out that a very long road may have to be traveled, and it may be an intermittent road; perhaps it will even be interrupted, unfortunately, by something else, you see.

If I may speak about one more issue, I would not like those of our citizens who are watching this program to get the impression that the representative of the Soviet Union and the personal representative of the president, who was there on the spot, was thinking about or raising the issue of Soviet people only. Of course, the foremost issue is the Soviet people; there is no question here, and there is no problem. But having relevant instructions from President Gorbachev, I again raised with Saddam Husayn the need to free all foreign hostages. I think that this process has started, and it can progress.

UN Security Council Resolution on Iraq Viewed

Primakov's Mission 'Unsuccessful'

PM3110140590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Oct 90 Union Edition p 1

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Shalnev:
"United Nations: Final Warning to Iraq"]

[Text] New York—On Monday the UN Security Council adopted, with two abstentions, another resolution, the 10th, aimed at ending Iraq's aggression against Kuwait.

This resolution, No. 674, was to have been adopted at the end of last week, but on Saturday the Soviet delegation asked that the vote be postponed in order to give Yevgeniy Primakov, the USSR president's special representative, the opportunity to carry out the mission on which he had been sent to Baghdad.

In the assessment of UN circles, the mission was unsuccessful, and the resolution was put to the vote.

The document stresses the "need for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the restoration of the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity" of that country. The resolution is most resolute in its condemnation of the "actions of the Iraqi authorities and occupation forces" regarding both Kuwaitis and citizens of third countries.

The Security Council demanded that Baghdad immediately allow all citizens of third countries, including diplomats and consular personnel, who wish to leave Kuwait and Iraq to do so.

According to the resolution, Iraq must also immediately provide Kuwaitis and citizens of third countries with access to food, water, and basic services. Baghdad was reminded that under international law it is responsible for any loss, damage, or harm "caused both to individual citizens and to corporations and institutions of Kuwait and third countries as a result of the invasion and illegal occupation of Kuwait."

The Security Council called on all countries to collect and submit information concerning both crimes committed by the Iraqis and the extent of damage caused.

In my view, the key paragraph of the resolution is this: If Iraq refuses to comply with the provisions of this and preceding resolutions, the Council will be forced to take further measures as envisaged by the UN Charter.

There are two options for further measures. The first is a blockade on any communication with Iraq, including postal and electronic communication, and the termination of diplomatic relations. And the second is the start of military operations.

It is noteworthy that on Monday there was also an unofficial meeting of a working group of the UN Military Staff Committee with the participation of representatives of the five permanent Security Council members.

In this connection, it clearly must be recalled that, under Article 46 of the UN Charter, plans for the use of armed forces must be prepared by the Security Council with the help of the Military Staff Committee. However, there are doubts regarding the extent to which the United States, for instance, would be prepared to correlate its possible intentions to use force in the Persian Gulf with the provisions of the charter.

Meanwhile the possibility of a military escalation is increasing. This is attested by the statement made Monday by Secretary of State J. Baker. He is a man who is usually very careful about his choice of words, and in this statement for the first time he used the word "war," not "military operations," as he had done before, and for the first time he stated extremely categorically that "we will not rule out the possible use of force if Iraq continues the occupation of Kuwait."

On Tuesday President Bush was scheduled to have a meeting in the White House with congressional leaders in order to discuss the question of the situation in the Persian Gulf zone and the possible sending of another 100,000 U.S. troops there. One cannot help but notice that during the recent Senate hearings Secretary of State Baker refused to give guarantees that the administration would carry out full-scale consultations with Congress and would seek its agreement before making the final decision to switch to military operations.

Limits of Soviet Role Seen

NC3110210590 Moscow in Persian to Iran
1500 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Commentary by Mikhail Mayorev]

[Excerpts] Esteemed listeners: The latest resolution adopted by the UN Security Council asks Iraq to implement all the earlier decisions adopted by the international community on the Persian Gulf crisis. Should this not occur, the resolution stipulates that the Security Council will be forced to consider follow-up measures.

If we proceed on the premise that war is imminent in the Persian Gulf, then what role should the Soviet Union play? Many people in our country are thinking about this question.

Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait. It is quite clear that Soviet policy will not change its position on this issue. It is impossible to imagine for even one moment that the Soviet Union will deviate from its adherence to the UN Security Council resolutions on the matter. However, punitive sanctions are one thing and war is something else entirely. It is also quite clear that Moscow's decision must conform to the spirit prevailing in the Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

The Soviet foreign minister has provided assurances that Moscow reserves the right to determine its future course of action. First, during any discussion of the possibility of military operations against Iraq in the Security Council, the Soviet Union can vote in favor of such

operations or veto them. Second, no Soviet military official will enter the arena without prior permission from the Supreme Soviet. It appears that specifying the level and the limits of possible involvement in the Persian Gulf will be important for Moscow.

In view of the catastrophe of the Afghanistan war for the Soviet Union, it is not very farsighted to imagine that the Soviet parliament will agree to dispatch Soviet military contingents to another explosive region. It is even more difficult to imagine that the president or the government would have the audacity to present such a request to the legislators.

It therefore appears that the chances of a Soviet military role are not very realistic compared to actions on the part of the United States and other Western countries in the Persian Gulf, actions which may be taken without the relevant decisions first being adopted by the United Nations. Should Soviet policy be condemned for this? The drawing of a line or the setting of limits on how far Moscow is prepared to go to combat the aggression and to seek an amicable solution does not invalidate all that Moscow has done so far in this regard. [passage omitted]

Saudi-Egyptian-Syrian Talks in Jeddah Viewed

LD0111093190 Moscow TASS in English 0858 GMT
1 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yefremov]

[Text] Cairo November 1 TASS—The Gulf crisis and international efforts to reach a settlement were the focus of talks between the foreign ministers of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Syria who met in Jeddah on Wednesday, the Middle East News Agency (MENA) reports.

Nothing is known about the results of the negotiations, except that the ministers have agreed to hold their next meeting in Damascus shortly.

According to Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Abd-al-Majid, the meeting was held within the framework of permanent consultations to coordinate the stance of Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia vis-a-vis the Gulf crisis. "I can say that we adhere to a firm stand on this problem and are exerting efforts to avert a military conflict in the region. We are striving for the complete withdrawal of the Iraqi troops from Kuwait and restoration of the lawful authorities there," he said.

The Qatar News Agency stressed that the tripartite meeting was particularly important in light of growing international efforts to settle the Gulf crisis quickly and comprehensively, especially after the "shuttle mission" by the Soviet president's special envoy Yevgeniy Primakov. The agency said a joint communique on the Jeddah meeting would be published. It "sheds light on the principal features of the forthcoming stage in the Gulf crisis."

According to the Egyptian AL-WAFD newspaper, the meeting discussed the results of the Soviet envoy's tour

and particularly the "signals" he got from Iraqi President Saddam Husayn about his alleged readiness to withdraw from Kuwait.

According to information received by the newspaper, one of the reasons for a tripartite meeting was to clarify Syria's stand on the crisis, since it has recently been said that it changed its position on foreign military presence in the region. Observers note that Syrian mass media have lately begun to criticise U.S. policy in the region more sharply, saying that it is intended to exploit the crisis in order to consolidate Israel.

Participants of the tripartite meeting were received by King Fahd of Saudi Arabia on Wednesday evening.

Saudi Source Comments on Conditions in Iraq

PM3110220190 Moscow TRUD in Russian
1 Nov 90 p 3

[Report from Jeddah, including interview with unidentified "high-ranking member of the Saudi leadership," by special correspondent E. Nalbandyan; date not given: "The Weather for War? Our Special Correspondent Reports From Saudi Arabia"]

[Excerpt] Saudi Arabia—[passage omitted] In which direction are events currently moving—toward war or peace? We discussed this question in Jeddah with a high-ranking member of the Saudi leadership, who, given the delicacy of his duties, asked to remain anonymous.

"Above all," my interlocutor said, "I would like to note that there have been a lot of inaccuracies in recent news reports. For instance, the report that Iraq is withdrawing its troops from northern Kuwait does not square with reality. According to our intelligence, the Iraqis are constantly rotating their units in Kuwait. But their total number remains the same. Iraq currently has almost 350,000 men on the Saudi border. And if we add to that the significant contingent concentrated in the region of the southern Iraqi city of Basra, the total number of S. Husayn's troops taking part in the operation is more than half a million men.

"We will not discuss the Iraqi president's dreams," the Saudi leader continued. "But as for the statement by Prince Sultan, it was wrongly interpreted—as he himself stated today. The Kingdom continues to oppose aggression and remains true to the Arab and international resolutions on the unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the restoration of the legitimate Kuwaiti Government under the leadership of Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah."

To a question about the likelihood of Iraq's using chemical or nuclear weapons in the event of an armed conflict, my interlocutor replied that, according to the information available to him, there is little likelihood of chemical weapons being used in the immediate future since the Iraqis cannot yet solve the technical problems related

to their delivery. As for nuclear weapons, in his opinion the Iraqis will not have such weapons for at least three years.

"At the same time," my interlocutor noted, "Iraq has many modern weapons, and in particular, by occupying Kuwait, it captured considerable quantities of state-of-the-art U.S. Hawk missiles, which are capable of inflicting considerable damage on an adversary."

[Nalbandyan] How effective has the economic embargo been and how long can Iraq hold out in this situation?

[Saudi official] The range of sanctions has hit Iraq quite hard. If we overlook the relatively small consignments of goods secretly reaching Iraq through Jordan we can consider the blockade to be total. Incidentally, we have no proof that Iran is in any way violating the embargo. It is hard to say how long Baghdad can hold out because it is clear that Iraq has considerable reserves of spare parts and foodstuffs. But it must be kept in mind that when those stocks start running out the impact of the embargo will increase exponentially. [Saudi official ends]

In my interlocutor's opinion, the resistance inside Kuwait represents quite a serious force. The problem is that its groups are not coordinated. The Kuwaiti Government in exile is currently taking measures to coordinate their efforts. The other day Saudi TV showed a short film shot by the Kuwaiti underground. In particular, the film showed an Iraqi tank and a truck burning in different parts of Kuwait City.

According to Saudi intelligence, discontent with the ruling elite is growing within Iraq itself. Unrest has flared in two cities in connection with violations of the regulations governing the distribution of foodstuffs. Deserters have reported discontent in the Army over S. Husayn's unexpected decision to give up all claims against Iran. Young officers are indignant that Iraq has gained nothing as a result of the eight-year war and has met all of the Iranian side's demands.

To a direct question about whether there will be a war or not my interlocutor replied as follows:

"If Iraq does not withdraw its troops from Kuwait, force will have to be used to liberate that country. Incidentally, I am not sure that S. Husayn will decide to withdraw his troops because I think that after such a step he would not be able to hold onto power within Iraq itself."

[Nalbandyan] What is the attitude of public opinion in the Arab countries to hostilities between Arabs?

[Saudi official] The liberation of Kuwait should not produce a negative reaction in the Arab world since it would be a restoration of justice and flouted freedom. If hostilities spill into Iraqi territory, the reaction could be more sensitive. In any event, everything should be done to avoid bloodshed between Arabs. [Saudi official ends]

The conversation with this well-informed official representative of the Saudi leadership nevertheless leaves

open the question of prospects for a settlement of the Gulf crisis. Well, that is the actual situation. Every passing day confirms its complexity and unpredictability....

Iraqi Official Remarks on Soviet Specialists

PM3110203590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Nov 90 Unica Edition p 5

[Third in a series of reports by special correspondents Yevg. Bay and V. Litovkin under the general heading "Iraq: 10 Days in October": "On the Banks of the Euphrates and in the Sands of Rumaylah"]

[Excerpt] Baghdad-Moscow—[passage omitted] We talked with Dzhuad Shuveyli [name as transliterated], chairman of Iraq's southern oil company planning administration. Expressing the opinion of his country's Oil Ministry, he said that he too has no interest in the Soviet specialists' leaving.

"Phase one of the North Rumaylah Field," Dzhuad said, "will cost \$600 million. Soviet specialists account for two-thirds of the work there. We have many such contracts, and we always try to place them first with the Soviet Union. We consider Soviet oilmen to be the best. It would be offensive, and unprofitable for you, if they were to leave."

Iraq has the second-largest oil reserves in the Gulf. Before 2 August it was lifting up to 3.1 million barrels a day. The wells in its fields produce up to 10,000 tonnes a day—or almost three million tonnes of oil a year. The potential is fantastic. After all, a single well is equivalent to an entire field. Until recently all this gave the country a unique opportunity—despite the huge spending on the military-industrial complex—to finance a large-scale economic development program and social welfare for the population, to pay off its foreign debt, and to conclude more and more contacts.

Iraq is by no means unimportant to our country either. It ranks second to India in terms of trade turnover among the developing countries. The USSR's total commitment under economic and technical cooperation agreements and contracts signed with the country currently stands at around four billion foreign currency rubles. We annually receive payments from it worth \$1.6-1.7 billion in the form of oil and foreign currency.

And, unlike all the Soviet Union's other debtors, Iraq regularly clears its debts. Last year alone it shipped 12.2 million tonnes of oil worth \$1,574,000 [as published] to our country and paid over \$50 million in cash. We shipped Iraqi oil to India, Romania, and Bulgaria.

"It would be at the very least unwise and short-sighted to wind up our economic and technical cooperation with Iraq," A. Kolotilin, USSR trade representative to that country, said. "We have rightly condemned its invasion of Kuwait and supported the UN sanctions, but we

should weigh any future step on the scales of state wisdom, and have an eye to tomorrow as well as today."

Incidentally, that is the opinion of many specialists and experts on Soviet-Iraqi relations. Major economic, scientific, and technical prospects are included in the plans for our mutually advantageous cooperation. Can we neglect them?

Leaving Iraq and slamming the door shut is no problem. Dozens of major firms with no political or moral obligations to any government would immediately take our place. Incidentally, despite everything, they are still quietly working away in the country today. Many of them are probably waiting for resolute steps from us and are looking to see how things will pan out with the Soviet specialists and their difficult position.

It is a matter of honor for our country and government to use all its prestige and influence to ensure that it is possible for anyone who so desires to leave Iraq at the time of their choosing, and to provide those who stay behind with everything they need.

The security of Soviet people, their health, and their right to a free choice are the main considerations for us.

Saddam Reportedly Sees Imminent War in Gulf

*PM3110194190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Nov 90 Union Edition p 1*

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "War in a Few Days"]

[Text] Iraqi President Saddam Husayn has told his generals that hostilities could start in the Gulf "in a few days."

INA has reported that the Iraqi leader stated this at an emergency conference of the country's top military command.

For his part, U.S. President G. Bush met with Congressional leaders and discussed the same subject with them—the possibility of large-scale hostilities in the Gulf. Our Washington correspondent A. Blinov reports that U.S. congressmen got the impression from the meeting that "the President's patience is running out." After the meeting Democratic Party representatives advocated that the president should stress the continuation of political and diplomatic efforts and should not resort to the use of force without agreement from Congress. THE LOS ANGELES TIMES quoted an unidentified ranking administration staffer who believes that the military option is "almost inevitable." In his words, Washington intends to discuss the possible timetable for its implementation next week. From the U.S. standpoint, the newspaper writes, the most suitable time for military action will be December or January, however it cannot be ruled out that this "could happen somewhat earlier or later."

Meanwhile there has been lively comment worldwide on the statements by the presidents of France and the USSR on the Gulf problem. The BBC believes that the Soviet leader clearly hinted that there is no point in S. Husayn's trying to split the international community, which resolutely condemns the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. A somewhat different interpretation of the USSR president's statements was made by a commentator on French TV's Channel 5: "Mikhail Gorbachev sent a clear signal from Rambouillet to the White House. The sense of it is the following: a military solution to the conflict is unacceptable.... Certain differences can also be noted in the French and Soviet presidents' assessment of the situation: Gorbachev believes that there have been changes in S. Husayn's position and he advocates an 'Arab solution.' Meanwhile, Mitterrand believes that, given the serious differences in the Arab world, such a solution is impossible."

In the opinion of Britain's DAILY MAIL newspaper, the statement that the Gulf crisis could be settled by the Arab countries themselves has caused concern in London and Washington. "The United States and Britain are afraid that S. Husayn could rally Arab leaguers and thereby win a concession from them on the question of an Iraqi troop withdrawal from Kuwait," the newspaper wrote.

On the other hand, Jordanian Foreign Minister Marwan al-Qasim assessed the same statement by M.S. Gorbachev as "positive." Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz, commenting on the statements by the French and Soviet presidents at their news conference in France, said: "Their statements contained improved, positive elements."

Meanwhile, Yevgeniy Primakov, the USSR president's special envoy, was ending his visit to Saudi Arabia. Here is what TASS reported on the visit:

Saudi King Fahd received Ye.M. Primakov, the USSR president's special envoy and member of the Presidential Council, late on Monday evening in Jeddah. King Fahd highly assessed the efforts of the Soviet Union which, firmly and resolutely advocating the fulfillment of the UN Security Council resolutions against Iraq, is striving to take every opportunity to find a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis. During the talk the need to withdraw Iraqi troops from Kuwait and restore in that country the situation that had existed prior to 2 August this year was noted. Ye.M. Primakov met with Shaykh Jabir al-Sabah, emir of Kuwait, in the city of al-Ta'if today.

Iraq Says Rejection of War Would Free Hostages

*PM0111150590 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 2 Nov 90 p 3*

[TASS report: "Baghdad's Proposal"]

[Text] 1 Nov—Sa'di Mahdi Salih, speaker of the Iraqi National Assembly (legislature), has stated that Baghdad has offered to release all foreign citizens held in Iraq in

exchange for a joint statement from France and the USSR that they oppose a military solution. In an interview with the French newspaper *LE FIGARO* published today, he pointed out that a "message to this effect has been sent to M. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand." We will release all foreigners as soon as we are sure that war is no longer inevitable, S. Salih noted. As he put it, "Iraq's main hope is pinned on France and the USSR—countries with which we are prepared to hold a dialogue, since they are objective in their desire to find a solution to the problem."

S. Salih said that "in the event of our wanting to merely settle the Gulf crisis, then the Arab plan is preferable. But if we want to settle the entire range of Near East problems, everyone needs to take part." He noted that Iraq is counting less on the Arab League and more on the personal intervention of certain highly influential leaders of the region's states. At the same time, *LE FIGARO* continues, S. Salih reaffirmed that "Iraq has rejected the Arab plan presented to it last weekend by Soviet presidential envoy Yevgeniy Primakov." "Any approach to solving the problem based on asserting the need for Iraq to quit Kuwait outside the framework of a global settlement is not correct," the speaker of the Iraqi parliament said. As S. Salih put it, the chances of a peaceful settlement and of a war starting are currently "equal."

'Psychological War' in Iraq Examined

PM3110224590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 1 Nov 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by Major Yu. Selivanov: "Salvos of an Invisible War"]

[Text] Today, when the cold war has been declared officially over, if we are still quite sober about our assessment of the situation in the world and the prospects for its development, then we must agree that it would be best to keep our powder dry—both our gunpowder and our ideological powder. Solid confirmation of the rightness of that conclusion can be found in the current development of the Gulf crisis, which overnight has left mankind on the brink of a major new disaster.

And although the guns in that region are still silent, the war there has to all intents and purposes already begun. It is a psychological war, since its participants clearly realize that a great deal will depend on whom world opinion and Arab opinion sides with. Iraq is placing particular emphasis on this kind of warfare. That country's Army has developed a powerful structure of special organs, one of whose main tasks is to work to demoralize and undermine the enemy troops' combat morale. Iraqi psychological warfare formations gained a good deal of practice during the eight-year conflict with Iran, and therefore were able to begin intensive propaganda activities in the very first days of the current crisis. Immediately after the Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait several new radio stations started up on Iraqi territory and began broadcasting to neighboring Arab countries. One such

station began broadcasting under the call sign "Voice of Free Egypt." Its broadcasts were entirely aimed at discrediting that country's government, which had adopted anti-Iraqi positions, and contained direct calls for the current Egyptian authorities' ouster.

Following the occupation of Kuwait, the Iraqis made every effort to rapidly establish control over its mass media. In particular, they managed to discover and destroy the "Voice of Kuwait" Kuwaiti resistance radio station, which had operated underground. Moreover, following the capture of the station, the Iraqis organized broadcasting using it as a "cover" and spreading information to their advantage.

As troops from Western states, primarily the United States, started arriving in the Near East region, the Iraqi psychological warfare forces switched to a considerable extent to "servicing" this audience. In the sandy wastes of the Arabian peninsula you can now hear the voice of a Baghdad Radio presenter saying in English: "American troops in the Saudi Arabian desert! In whose interest is it for you to be in danger and possibly get killed?... Your wives are waiting for you. If you have a girlfriend, she too is waiting for you.... Remember what the oil enirs do to American girls.... Have you not heard how the sand dunes of the Arabian desert can move? They swallow up many people, they will swallow you up, too...."

From time to time appeals are broadcast on the same wavelength to Arab soldiers from those countries which have sent their military contingents to Saudi Arabia. In particular, a number of appeals to Muslims state that they should not support those who have defiled the holy places in Mecca and Medina.

Together with its intensive propaganda effort against its coalition of enemies Iraq has taken all possible steps to protect its own population and Army from retaliatory psychological strikes. To that end, powerful transmitters have been used to jam foreign radio stations. Using them, the Iraqis have managed to almost entirely paralyze the Arabic services of radio stations such as VOA and the BBC. These stations' transmitters, located in Britain, Germany, and Greece, were beaming 250,000-kilowatt signals to Iraq. In response the Iraqi "jammers" blocked them with a 500,000-kilowatt signal. In order to successfully counter the Western radio stations, Iraq has had to stop jamming Iranian radio broadcasts for the first time since 1980.

Nonetheless, Iraq's enemies are continuing to step up their war of words with that country. Their propaganda is mainly focused on proving that the West is right and demonstrating the nobility of its intentions in the current conflict. Moreover, it is aimed at wholly destabilizing Iraqi society and the Army, with the ultimate aim of overthrowing the Saddam Husayn regime. Realizing that the Iraqi dictator's main support is his Army, Western specialists have been focusing their efforts on working to demoralize it. To that end, all negative information and rumors about the moral and political state of the Iraqi

Armed Forces are collated, sorted, analyzed, and, after appropriate processing, "beamed back" to Iraq. Everything that can even slightly help to demoralize the Iraqi troops is being used—from persistent assertions of the futility of the Iraqis' resisting the colossal U.S. military machine to regular reports on plots against Husayn.

It should be said that these propaganda efforts have had some effect. This is shown by the growing number of Iraqi soldiers deserting from their units and crossing into Saudi territory.

Recently the Americans have increasingly been using radio warfare to directly back up forthcoming combat operations. In particular, contradictory reports are being spread about different scenarios for a U.S. military strike on Iraq. The aim of these "leaks" of information is quite obvious—to confuse and disorientate the Iraqi command as regards real U.S. military intentions.

On the whole, the intensive and quite effective use of the forces and resources of psychological warfare in the Gulf military-political crisis has been an indication that the maintenance of such formations remains a necessity for a state which wants to have a national security system that is reliable in all respects.

New U.S. Afghan Rebel Aid Program Criticized

NC0111080690 Moscow in Persian to Iran
1500 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Commentary by Sergey Viktorov; from "The World Today" program]

[Text] Dear listeners: Washington has decided to choose a new tactic with regard to providing aid to the Afghan opposition. This has been reported by AP, citing U.S. Government spokesmen. The United States believes that now it would be more useful to give aid to the mujahidin who are directly based on Afghan territory and are fighting against government forces. Moscow radio analyst Sergey Viktorov has a commentary on that issue, which he will read now:

The U.S. press is quoting the remarks of State Department adviser (Zia Khalil Sadr) to the effect that Washington has reached the conclusion that real power lies not with the politicians exiled in Pakistan but with the commanders of antigovernment groups who control part of Afghanistan's territory. Apparently, previously the major share of U.S. military and financial aid was delivered to the leaders of the opposition's political organizations in Peshawar.

Along with the change in the address of the aid's recipients, the amount of the aid has also been reduced a little. Last year they received \$280 million, but this year this sum will be \$30 million less. Although \$30 million is not a large amount of money, especially if it is compared with the price of a stinger missile launcher, in fact such a decrease in U.S. aid to the Afghan opposition is proof that even in the U.S. Congress, which has always shown

a sympathetic attitude for the mujahidin, support for them at present has been seriously eroded.

One can say that perhaps it is for this reason that leaders of the biggest opposition groups have speeded up the implementation of the plan for direct military assaults on Kabul and provincial capitals. They apparently think that aid will be given only in return for real action. In fact, the opposition has decided to show its strength to its supporters across the ocean and in Pakistan, so that, God forbid, members of the U.S. Congress would not think that they are wasting their money.

This situation indicates that Afghanistan is facing an escalation of the fighting. Washington's new tactic—delivering aid to those who are directly fighting the government—contributes precisely to the war's escalation.

Afghan Army Chief Denies Reports on Losing City

PM0111095590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 26 Oct 90 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General M. Hashim, Afghan Army deputy chief of staff, by IAN correspondent Andrey Pravov for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA; place and date not given: "Lieutenant General Hashim: 'I Believe in the Qalat Garrison'"—first two paragraphs are Pravov introduction]

[Text] Kabul—A new topic—the successes supposedly being enjoyed by the armed detachments of the opposition—has recently appeared in broadcasts to Afghanistan by various radio stations, both those belonging to the "mujahidin" and Western stations. Especially great attention has been devoted to the situation around Qalat, the center of Zabol Province, which, as some radio stations have broadcast, was taken several days ago by the "mujahidin."

What is the situation in Qalat? Has it really been surrendered by government troops? I addressed these questions to Lieutenant General Muhammad Hashim, deputy chief of staff of the Afghan Army.

[Hashim] A difficult situation is indeed developing around Qalat. But the local garrison is holding out. There can be no question of the surrender of the city. An assault force numbering about 200 men was airlifted to Qalat 18 October. It flew out from Kabul in 16 helicopters at 1100 hours. And after a short stopover at Ghazni to refuel the assault force landed in Qalat at 1308 hours. In order to guarantee the success of this operation, our aviation based in Bagram and Shindand carried out sudden massive strikes on the highway leading to the city, which was in the hands of the enemy. The operation was successfully kept secret until the very end, and by the time the mujahidin realized what was going on, the assault force was already in Qalat.

[Pravov] How much did the landing of the assault force alleviate the situation for the local garrison?

[Hashim] Only a few days ago fighting was taking place on the outskirts of the city. Today, with the aid of fresh forces it has been possible to drive the enemy back and create a ring of defense roughly 10km wide.

[Pravov] What opposition groupings are participating in the siege of the city? How many men do they number?

[Hashim] Mainly it is detachments of Hekmatyar's Islamic Party of Afghanistan that are assembled there. As is well known, it is Hekmatyar who is today calling for the widening of military operations and even talking about a possible assault on Kabul. Sayyaf's groups are also in the vicinity of Qalat. In all there are 105 detachments with a combined total of 4,450 men. According to intelligence information, approximately 200 Pakistanis, mainly officers, are participating in the fighting alongside the "mujahidin." In any case our soldiers have in recent days discovered 11 corpses of Pakistanis near the city when the enemy retreated.

[Pravov] What weapons are the "mujahidin" equipped with?

[Hashim] The first thing that must be said here is that the "mujahidin" have no problems in the rapid redeployment of arms and ammunition to the Qalat region. After all, the city is situated near the Pakistani border. As far as we know, they have at their disposal there four portable antiaircraft missile systems, 36 launchers for jet-propelled projectiles, 43 recoilless guns, 37 mortars, 48 heavy machineguns, 12 mountain-version antiaircraft guns, and 123 grenade launchers. That is a sizeable force.

[Pravov] Why, in your view, are the "mujahidin" attacking Qalat?

[Hashim] They consider this city one of our weakest spots. You see, the local garrison has been completely isolated for two years now. Everything necessary has been shipped in by air only, or to be more precise, parachuted in.

[Pravov] Recently the "mujahidin" managed to seize the neighboring provincial center of Tarin Kowt. Are you satisfied that the defenders of Qalat will manage to resist the enemy's pressure?

[Hashim] They only managed to seize Tarin Kowt thanks to the treachery of the governor of the province, who they suborned. We are confident in our garrison in Qalat. The assault force that was flown in has added forces to the city defenders and raised their morale. The situation is still difficult. But, as I have already said, a 10 km defense ring has been formed around the city. We will extend this. Moreover, the garrison is supported by the local population. People are voluntarily forming self-defense detachments and are coming to the battle positions with arms. We are trying to get a column to Qalat from Qandahar to deliver foodstuffs and basic necessities. I personally believe in the Qalat garrison. It will not surrender the city, it will hold out to the last.

Afghanistan Used as 'Proving Ground' for Weaponry

LD3110191190 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Oct 90

[From the "Business Courier" program]

[Text] The war in Afghanistan, which became a proving ground for the Soviet war industry, demonstrated the high combat qualities of arms manufactured in the Soviet Union—demand for which continues to remain extremely high on the international market. This is confirmed in particular by the following unofficial figures: the USSR holds second place after the United States for arms exports, accounting for 28 percent of world arms exports. During the 1980's, about 25 percent of the fighting equipment produced in the country was exported. In 1988, the USSR supplied arms worth \$9.9 billion to Third World countries.

The only paradox is that the sides fighting each other in the armed conflicts taking place in the Third World are using Soviet combat equipment against each other. That these conflicts are unending, and that neither side is able to achieve victory, is explained by the fact that Soviet weapons are invincible, as the soldiers gloomily joke.

At the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a deputy asked a question of the head of the government about the rightfulness of supplying flour and fuel to one of the sides fighting in Afghanistan. And in October, news came of attempts by the government of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic to hold a round of diplomatic talks with representatives of the Afghan armed opposition.

East Europe

Bulgaria To Dispatch Medics to Persian Gulf

91P50025 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 28 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed article: "Volunteers Have Been Directed"]

[Text] On Friday the Bulgarian parliament adopted a decision to begin preparation for the possible dispatch to the Persian Gulf region of a military-medical formation, including a chemical defense subunit, comprised of volunteers.

Having qualified Iraq's aggression against Kuwait as a gross violation of the norms of international law and a challenge to peace and security, the deputies tasked the appropriate state organs, under the leadership of the country's president, to adopt the necessary measures for carrying out the decision. This step is being implemented within the framework of the international sanctions as determined by resolutions of the UN Security Council.

Ryzhkov, CSFR Counterpart View Moscow Talks

*PM0111153190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Sides Satisfied"]

[Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has stated that as a result of the Soviet-Czechoslovak talks, which he considers fruitful, a good basis has been created for resolving a package of questions on bilateral economic cooperation for 1991 in the very near future.

M. Calfa, prime minister of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic [CSFR], noted in particular that the talks were complex but that solutions were found which satisfy both sides. In his words the central issue was the question of Soviet oil supplies to Czechoslovakia for next year. It was agreed that 13 million tonnes will be supplied. Czechoslovakia will pay for the oil supplies with equipment for the USSR's oil industry and also with consumer goods of their choice for oil workers. Part of the deliveries will be paid for in convertible currency.

The heads of the USSR and CSFR governments answered journalists' questions at the airport, where N.I. Ryzhkov saw Marian Calfa off on 30 October after six hours of talks.

Contacts With Czechoslovak Communists Eyed

*PM3110144590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Oct 90 Second Edition p 6*

[Interview with CPSU Central Committee Secretary V.A. Kuptsov by unnamed correspondent under the rubric "Specially for PRAVDA"; place and date not given: "We Are Open to Dialogue"]

[Text] CPSU Central Committee Secretary V.A. Kuptsov returned recently from a trip to the CSFR [Czech and Slovak Federal Republic]. The sociopolitical processes in that country are of lively interest to our readers, and in this connection PRAVDA's correspondent asked Valentin Aleksandrovich to answer a number of questions.

[Correspondent] How would you characterize the present position of Czechoslovak communists and the ties between our two parties?

[Kuptsov] It is no secret that, following the well-known turnabout in Czechoslovakia, contacts between the CPSU and the KSC [Czechoslovak Communist Party] have been in an "inhibited" state, although they have not been quite broken off. There are various reasons for this. It has taken a certain time to take our bearings, to assess the new situation correctly....

In September this year M.S. Gorbachev and V. Mohorita exchanged letters stating the interest of both sides in activating and raising the level of contacts. M.S. Gorbachev suggested sending a CPSU Central Committee

secretary to the CSFR—which the Czechoslovak comrades received with great satisfaction.

The trip was interesting and useful. We had thorough talks with the leaders of the KSC, as well as the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia and the Communist Party of Slovakia, which are acquiring independence. We also met with the party aktiv of grass-roots organizations. Our chief impression is that the party is alive, is functioning, and is being renewed. Quite a lot of people have left it during the year, but an influx of fresh forces is also taking place.

I liked the representatives of the new generation of Czechoslovak communists. They are questing people, for whom the idea of social justice and democratization are not the object of some political games but components of society's fundamental interests.

Our ties are ties between equal partners and are devoid of even a hint of interference in each other's internal affairs. We voice solidarity with the KSC's desire to be a full and effective component of Czechoslovakia's pluralist political system. Just as Czechoslovak communists voice solidarity with our perestroika.

[Correspondent] An alarming new theme has appeared in reports from the CSFR: The confiscation of Communist Party property is being prepared. What can you say in this regard?...

[Kuptsov] Yes, our Czechoslovak comrades briefed us on the government's intention to submit to parliament a draft law depriving the party of its property. There are financial and juridical aspects to this question, but we naturally cannot make an assessment of them.

In my opinion, however, on a principled plane it is clear that in a rule-of-law state the expropriation of property can hardly be permissible.

[Correspondent] Who else did you meet with while in Czechoslovakia?

[Kuptsov] We had talks with representatives of the ruling movements "Civic Forum" and "Public Against Violence," as well as of Czechoslovak social democracy. Incidentally, this accords with our principled approach: The CPSU is open to dialogue with all organizations with an interest in this. I would like, by the way, to note the correct, amicable atmosphere at those meetings. We exchanged information and discussed the possibilities of future contacts in the context of relations between the Soviet Union and the CSFR.

Future of Yugoslavian Federal System Questioned

*91UF0086A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 21 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5*

[Article by TASS and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent Yu. Kornilov: "A Volcano in the Balkans"]

[Text] Belgrade—"The crisis in Yugoslavia has reached its peak. The national contradictions and numerous confrontations are threatening to grow into an open conflict which, under our conditions, will inevitably lead to civil war. The domestic political crisis and the slowing rates at which problems of relations within the federation are being solved are seriously threatening Yugoslavia's position in the international arena." These alarming lines are from a statement by the chairman of the Presidium of the SFRY, B. Jovic, read on 17 October on Belgrade television.

Leafing through the Yugoslav political calendar today it is not difficult to note that a sharp increase in the activity of nationalist and separatist forces began in Yugoslavia after May-June of this year when for the first time in many decades there were elections to republic and local organs in Croatia and Slovenia on a multiparty basis. The union of communists was defeated in these elections and the victory was won by the opposition parties which were speaking from nationalist positions. It was after this that the "political landscape" of the multinational country, which includes six republics and two autonomous regions, began to change rapidly.

In Croatia today the levers of political power are in the hands of the Croatian Democratic Community (KhDS) which was in favor of creating an independent Croatian state, which was to include a significant part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Croatian Democratic Community is the largest and most wide-reaching political organization in the republic and, judging from press reports, includes more than 200,000 "active members." "The interests of the Croats above all," "Croatia for Croats!"—such are the slogans of the Croatian Democratic Community, whose program includes a multiparty system, equal rights for all forms of ownership, and a free market of capital and work force. Franjo Tudjman is the president of Croatia and the chairman of the Croatian Democratic Community. In the past he was a major general in the Yugoslav People's Army and one of the leaders of the Croatian national movement Maspok, whose activity peaked during the sixties and the beginning of the seventies; the Croatian de Gaulle—this is what Tudjman's followers called him.

An essentially similar situation was created in Slovenia where the power is held by DEMOS—a coalition of three parties created in December 1989 which is in favor of "erosion of communist structures." The DEMOS includes the Slovenian Social Democratic Union (SSDS), which focuses its program on adherence to the "ethics of European humanism"; the Slovene Democratic Alliance (SDS), which propounds the ideas of Western parliamentarianism; and the Slovene Christian Social Movement (SKhSD), which is in favor of using the "Christian code of ethics" as a basis for politics. With all their differences, these three parties (like the Slovene Christian Union and the Green Movement which joined them in January 1990) are united in one purpose: Slovenia should be fully independent.

And, of course, this is not about any purely theoretical postulates: The forces that have ended up with the levers of power in the regions of the "developed north" (Croatia, Slovenia) are in practice increasingly shifting relations with the center and the "poorly developed south" (Serbia, Montenegro) to a confederative basis. In Zagreb they have already adopted decisions to eliminate the previous security organs and reorganize the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Individuals of Serbian nationality are being discharged from all positions of any importance.

Slovenia has adopted a law on the economic independence of the republic, according to which Ljubljana intends to determine its economic commitments unilaterally not only with respect to other republics but also with respect to the federation as a whole. A "Slovenian legation" has been opened in Brussels and in Washington—a republic "bureau for foreign economic ties." A point has been added to the republic constitution which gives republic authorities the right to monitor subdivisions of the Yugoslav People's Army stationed on the territory of Slovenia (this point was subsequently abolished by the SFRY Presidency). The mass nationalist propaganda is producing results: The Slovenian press reports that half of the republic's residents are in favor of a confederative structure of Yugoslavia and every fourth resident is in favor of Slovenia's withdrawal from the SFRY.

The struggle for redistribution of economic and political power among the republics and federation is becoming acute in other regions of the country, as well. In Serbia the demands to "give a proper response" to the claims of Croatian and Slovenian separatists are becoming ever louder, and, at the same time, great-power Serbian nationalism is also raising its head. The Serbian National Movement party recently entered the political arena under its flags.

A new aspect is the ever closer interaction of separatist forces operating in various republics, above all in Croatia and Slovenia. The latest evidence of this was the "draft of the future confederative structure of Yugoslavia," drawn up jointly in October by Ljubljana and Zagreb. It proclaims the right of each sovereign republic to complete independence from the center, including in the spheres of defense and foreign policy. A new political-geographic term has appeared on the pages of the press—"Crovenia," which means a possible "confederation" of two republics.

Of course, the stormy outbursts of nationalism have become possible under conditions in which the country has encountered serious and critical socioeconomic problems, and on the Yugoslav political scene many sociopolitical factors capable of holding back centrifugal tendencies have lost their former significance. For example, the importance of the consolidating role played in the life of the country by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] is known. The ideological fermentation in the party which culminated with a split in the LCY reduced this function to a minimum.

An important factor in the consolidation of society in the SFRY for many years was—and to a considerable degree still is today—the Army, which acts as a guarantee of the unity and integrity of the community. The stormy disintegrating processes that are shaking the country are, however, gradually—and increasingly—affecting the situation in the Armed Forces as well. In the “northern republics” there are growing demands to create territorial “independent” defense forces, and practical steps have already been taken to create such forces in Slovenia. At the beginning of October, the minister for national defense in Slovenia announced in an interview with the American press agency AP that if the Yugoslav People's Army were to threaten the republic's sovereignty, these forces were prepared to repulse them with weapons in hand...

As we can see, today's Yugoslavia indeed increasingly reminds one of a volcano just about ready to erupt and spill molten lava all over its own slopes. I do not think that anyone inside or outside this country today can give a firm prediction. But those who think about this kind of prediction, in my view, should take the following into account.

Yes, the sociopolitical situation in Yugoslavia is distinguished by its complexity, contradictoriness, and extreme acuteness, but the forces in favor of preserving the unity and integrity of the Yugoslav state, in my view, still outweigh those that would like to destroy Yugoslavia. The Union Republic of Yugoslavia—this name was suggested for the country by the Presidency of the SFRY in a document just submitted to the legislature concerning the future state structure of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Federation, it is noted in the document, should be a rule-of-law state of nations and republics with equal rights—a state whose borders can change only with the agreement of all federal units.

It is important that the largest Yugoslav republic, Serbia, is in favor of the primacy of union laws over republic ones. The Serbian leaders are aware of the need to expand the rights of the republics, and they regard the federation as a truly democratic association of republics with equal rights, but the kind of association where the most important issues pertaining to all members of the federation are resolved by a consensus. In the new Serbian constitution adopted at the end of September it is emphasized that Serbia, being a unified sovereign state, is in favor of a federative union with voluntary inclusion in it. Montenegro approaches the prospects for the development of a federation from analogous or similar positions. Macedonia and also Bosnia and Herzegovina have also declared their interest in a strong federation, although with certain reservations. A public opinion poll conducted in October by the newspaper BORBA showed that 70 percent of the residents in Serbia are in favor of retaining the federation, in Montenegro—84 percent, Macedonia—81 percent, Bosnia and Herzegovina—68 percent, Croatia—49 percent, and Slovenia—30 percent of those questioned.

Currently there are up to 400 political parties and associations in Yugoslavia. Although the country's political spectrum is distinguished by its extreme diversity, however, it is important to note that the idea of “non-Yugoslav statehood” proposed by the separatists is alien to the majority of the new sociopolitical organizations, which do not go further than to demand that the Yugoslav federation be turned into a confederation. This position is predictable, especially if one takes into account the fact that all republics and regions of the SFRY are united by a dense, durable, historically developed network of economic, ethnic, cultural, and other ties.

The SFRY presidency is in favor of holding a nationwide referendum during which all citizens of the country would be given the opportunity to answer two extremely clear questions: “Do you see your future within the framework of a single state, and if so, what should the relations among the republics be like?” The results of this referendum would determine the content and character of the “historic treaty” which, according to expectations, would be concluded among the Yugoslav peoples.

There is no doubt that on the threshold of the referendum the struggle between separatists and proponents of unity will become even more heated. But still one wishes to believe that the battle for a unified Yugoslavia will be won.

Soviets To Speed Up Oil Supplies to Yugoslavia

LD2910233890 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1929 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Vice Premier Aleksandar Mitrovic and his Soviet counterpart Stepan Sitaryan in Moscow have agreed on speeding up Soviet oil deliveries to Yugoslavia.

The Soviet Union is expected to deliver to Yugoslavia a total of around six million tonnes of oil this year. Around 1.7 million tonnes of Soviet oil should be delivered to Yugoslavia by the end of the year.

Mitrovic will be in Moscow until Friday [2 November]. During his visit a Yugoslav-Soviet trade agreement is expected to be signed, based on a new, convertible method of payment.

West Europe

EC Discusses Economic Assistance for USSR

LD2910154290 Moscow TASS in English 1236 GMT
29 Oct 90

[By TASS political analyst Albert Balebanov]

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—Leaders of 12 European Community nations, meeting at an extraordinary European Council summit in Rome from October 27-28,

have decided to render the Soviet Union economic assistance for its perestroika and transition to a market economy.

The session's final document confirms the importance of political and economic reforms in the Soviet Union and the European Community's readiness to make a contribution to their success.

Italian Premier Giulio Andreotti, who chaired the Rome summit, told a news conference that the EC would "encourage perestroika's active development" and that "necessary assistance could be rendered to the Soviet Union already by mid-December".

The European Council's decisions have shown that Western Europe realises the importance of changes in the Soviet Union and their significance for Europe and the entire world. This is why EC policy has turned towards closer cooperation with the USSR. The European Council has stated that food assistance would be granted to the USSR in case of emergency even before the "Twelve" meet in Rome on December 13th. This proves that the Rome decisions will not be mere scraps of paper.

It is also worth noting that some EC nations have taken steps in the same direction on their own initiative without waiting for the implementation of the mapped out course. During President Gorbachev's visit to Spain, the sides signed bilateral agreements containing a whole programme for stimulating mutual investments and reciprocal guarantees. A solid foundation has been laid for future commercial and economic relations between the two countries: Spain has granted the USSR a credit of \$1.5 billion.

A similar step is expected from France, where the Soviet President is now visiting, and Germany, where Gorbachev is to go in November. There is every ground for hope that the list of Western states ready to render concrete economic assistance to Soviet perestroika will continue to grow.

The Soviet Union is looking forward to cooperation with the West during the important and painful period of its transition to a market economy. It is gratifying to realise that the Soviet call has been heeded. This is explained, it seems, by the fact that EC governments have realised that their assistance could accelerate the Soviet Union's progress to a market economy. And one more thing: The further development of European processes, including the CSCE process, largely depends on the way we meet our historical challenge—to radically reform the Soviet economy.

The EC nations' decisions to grant our country financial aid reflects their great strategic and material interest in future relations with the USSR. This is a pragmatic and far-sighted policy, which will bring Europe stability and prosperity.

It is important that the EC decisions on economic cooperation with the Soviet Union were made on the eve of the CSCE summit in Paris. These decisions and the summit itself will provide a historically unique opportunity to establish a new Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, which will be peaceful, united and democratic.

Dumas, Shevardnadze Cited on Cooperation Accords

PM3110145590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Oct 90 Union Edition p 1

[Report by TASS special correspondent: "Important Documents Signed"]

[Text] Paris, 29 Oct—The signing of a series of Soviet-French documents concerning the expansion of bilateral cooperation took place at the French Foreign Ministry on Sunday evening. These include a program for economic, industrial, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and France for the period 1991-1995, a draft agreement on cooperation between Soviet and French enterprises, an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of labor relations, employment, and vocational training, an exchange of letters on the application of the provisions of this agreement from the day of its signing, and an agreement on cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the French National Scientific Research Center.

The documents were signed on the Soviet side by L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.I. Shcherbakov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems; and academician G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The following signed for the French side: P. Beregovoy, minister of state and ministry of the economy, finance, and budget; R. Fauroux, minister of industry and land management; J.-P. Soisson, minister of labor, employment, and professional training; and P. Kourilsky, general director of the National Scientific Research Center.

This set of signed documents marks a new step in deepening and expanding mutually beneficial relations and traditional ties between our two countries and will help raise them to a new level. As the Soviet economy moves toward market relations these documents will make it possible to make more effective use of the scientific and practical experience built up by the two countries and expand contacts at different levels.

Addressing the signing ceremony, Roland Dumas, French minister of state and minister of foreign affairs, stressed that Soviet President Gorbachev's visit and the new Soviet-French documents are in keeping with the numerous fruitful exchanges between the two countries. Our relations, he said, have strengthened in recent years and have now entered a new historical period marked by trust and friendship. It is this spirit that permeates the documents signed here, which continue the long tradition of friendly ties between France and the USSR.

The signed agreements, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze stated, are of great significance for the further development, expansion, and deepening of Soviet-French cooperation. The relations between our two states, the minister said, may be described as unique. And it seems to me that these unique relations are reflected in the new agreements. Our cooperation, he stressed, is an important factor in strengthening stability in Europe and throughout the world.

Reports Continue on GDR Party's Debt Payment

PM2910165590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Oct 90 Union Edition p 7

[Article by I. Andreyev: "Where Did 'Putnik' Come From? Almost a Detective Story Which Started With a Report in IZVESTIYA"]

[Text] "The Police Swooped at Midnight"—under this heading IZVESTIYA (No. 292) recently published a report by Vladimir Lapskiy, its correspondent in Berlin. I will remind you of its contents in a few words. The Berlin police burst into the building of the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] Board, rummaged through party papers, and sealed the safes. According to PDS Chairman G. Gysi, the night action was prompted by the 107 million German marks [DM] which the party had transferred to accounts of the Soviet foreign trade firm of "Putnik" in the Netherlands and Norway. This sum was earmarked for paying off the debt of the PDS's predecessor—the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]—to the CPSU. Chairman Gysi maintains that this was for the training of some foreign students in the USSR in the past.

The Berlin event had unexpected repercussions in our capital. Roland Heine, an old friend and colleague from BERLINER ZEITUNG who has represented the newspaper in Moscow for several years, telephoned me.

"Help me to get at least the telephone number of that firm. Imagine, no one in Moscow knows anything about it. Neither at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, nor at the Foreign Ministry, nor even at the CPSU Central Committee, for which that very DM107 million was seemingly destined."

I will omit the details of the whole operation to get the telephone numbers of the firm and of the apartment of Andrey Popov, its general director. Before passing them to Roland, I telephoned the firm myself. "Yes, this is the 'Putnik' joint venture here," my interlocutor confirmed. "The general director is out, but he will be here toward evening. I cannot say anything about 'Putnik's' involvement with the DM107 million. We serve tourists and deal with the hotel business."

My BERLINER ZEITUNG colleague was no luckier. After hearing from "Putnik" approximately the same as I heard, he rang the general director at home. The reply: Andrey Vladimirovich is on a business trip and will return in about five days' time.

It seems that, without mounting a hunt at all, we scared off the timid "Putnik." On arriving at the firm's address, the Berlin newspaper's correspondent found only a janitor who was not entirely sober. It turned out that the firm itself, to whose foreign accounts tens of millions are transferred, occupies a run-down old building a stone's throw from the foundation pit for the future Putnik Hotel....

According to official information from the joint ventures registration department of the USSR Ministry of Finance, the "Putnik" joint venture was created in April 1989 by the cooperative of the same name in the capital, the Moscow Oblast Administration of the USSR Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development, Moscow's Moskvoretskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee, and the Venezuelan firm of Rostik [name as transliterated] International. This year the foreign partner from Venezuela was replaced by the Cypriot firm of Kanopa [name as transliterated] Holding Ltd. The venture's statutory [ustavnoy] capital is 100,000 rubles. Its sphere of activity is the construction, fitting out, and operation of hotel complexes, restaurants, bars, etc. in the USSR and in third countries. In addition, it renders a multitude of services to Soviet and foreign tourists.

The disparate facts ascertained by BERLINER ZEITUNG and IZVESTIYA do not yet form a whole, clear picture. I will try to set them out in chronological order, emphasizing where anything relating to the PDS—"Putnik"—CPSU "business" happened.

Oslo, Norway. A gentleman—Kaufmann, a former SED functionary—turned up at the Norske Bank and tried to close "Putnik's" account worth DM70 million, and was handed the entire sum. He was arrested, but was released 24 hours later, after which he disappeared in an unknown direction.

It is not yet known which documents confirming the rights of a citizen of Germany to be paid millions from a Soviet firm's account Kaufmann proffered. At any rate, the bank refused to tell our German colleagues anything about this.

Berlin, 23 October. The PDS press attache expressed amazement—to the BERLINER ZEITUNG journalists who turned to him—at the fact that the CPSU had not confirmed its rights to the DM107 million transferred to it via "Putnik."

Moscow, 24 October. Andrey Tarasov, the former official "responsible" for the former GDR in the CPSU Central Committee International Department, spoke at a news conference given by PRAVDA Chief Editor I. Frolov. After saying that the Central Committee does not know of the firm of "Putnik" or of Mr. Kaufmann, he denied the information in this connection published on that day by the German newspaper JUNGE WELT with a reference to himself, Tarasov. However, Roland

Heine maintains that Dirk Emmerich, his Moscow colleague on that newspaper, approached Tarasov through his interpreter and had a conversation with him.

Moscow, 26 October. It has become known from the PDS Board that G. Gysi paid a brief visit to Moscow lasting a few hours.

...But there are still no senior officials in the "Putnik" office. The duty janitor answers calls....

Western Forces Meet Journalists in Berlin

*LD3110151690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 31 Oct 90*

[Report by correspondent Anatoliy Stepkin on news conference by the Western Group of Forces with Soviet journalists in Berlin; date not given—recorded]

[Text] We met the group's leadership at a busy and difficult time.

Major General Kozlov, first deputy chief of the Political Department and member of the Military Council of the Western Group of Forces, told us that recently many fabrications are being carried in the Western press, and frequently in the Soviet press as well, about the situation in the Western Group of Forces. Specifically, there is talk of a worsening of the forces' morale, of an increase in the number of deserters, and of the sale of weapons and uniforms. Sometimes there are utterly ridiculous assertions reported about the sale of missiles and artillery installations. Evidently, such rumors of the complete moral and ethical degradation of our people, are of advantage to someone, Gen. Kozlov said. At the same time, no journalists are writing about our soldiers' rejections of such attempts, attempts to persuade them to sell weapons, or about their demonstration of the high standards of Soviet soldiers.

Hundreds of people today have already been sent to the Soviet Union from the Western Group of Forces to assist construction workers, both civilian and military, in creating an elementary basis for the reception of our troops who are now preparing to leave German territory for the territory of the Soviet Union. The actual withdrawal of troops and weapons, which has to be completed by the end of 1994, has, indeed, already begun. Gen. Kozlov also reported that today about 40,000 servicemen from the group are helping with the harvest in the Soviet Union, near Orenburg, Kursk Oblast and Moscow Oblast.

The military leadership says today there are about 15 Soviet servicemen in the West who are, in effect, deserters. As yet, there is no specific agreement with the German side about how to deal with such persons. Talks are now already under way, and, of course, there are cases of servicemen going absent from their units without leave, but by no means the 700 armed persons referred to by the so-called independent advocate, (Lyamin), who defended one deserter, the soldier (Luchik), at a trial in Weimar. Now, contacts are being arranged with the new German authorities of the united Germany. There are already examples of direct contacts with subunits of the Bundeswehr-East forces.

As for the loss of weapons, in the words of the general, they are mainly lost during exercises, but the number of such weapons is small. Weapons are kept in the barracks under the two or three-tier protection system, and thefts are virtually impossible. Only three items have not been found: one machine gun, an automatic gun, and a Makarov pistol. In the words of the Soviet general, the Soviet uniforms being sold in markets in the western part of Berlin are now being made by various underground firms catering to fashion, and foreigners are selling not only these uniforms but also the uniforms of the U.S. Army and the Bundeswehr.

Supreme Soviet

Supreme Soviet Adopts Law on Speculation

LD3110145890 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT
31 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow, 31 Oct—TASS parliamentary correspondents Ivan Ivanov, Vladimir Isachenkov, and Andrey Orlov report from the Kremlin:

Today the Soviet parliament adopted a law on intensifying responsibility for speculation, illegal trading activity, and abuse in trade. Its task is to protect the consumer from unscrupulous commercial activity that is against the law, and, as the preamble notes, it will operate "in the period of the stabilization of the national economy during the transition to a market economy."

Presenting the new version of the bill, on which more work has been done since the first reading that took place last week, Yuriy Golik, chairman of the committee on questions of law and order and the fight against crime, expressed the opinion that the act will serve to protect socially low prices that have been set by the state. "Entering a state store the consumer must be confident that it will sell the goods that have been subsidized by the state to him and not to someone buying and selling who would like to make a fortune out of the difference between the prices," the parliamentary committee chairman said.

Yuriy Golik stressed that speculation in the USSR is becoming increasingly organized and professional in the forms that it takes. The single-handed speculator is being gradually forced out of the black market by criminal organizations. One can trace a clear tendency for a monopoly on prices to be retained in a criminal way. For this, the deputy explained, "not simply large consignments of goods but enormous ones are brought up: these are hidden for the time being and the dealer gets the opportunity to dictate prices."

The rapporteur stressed that by speculation the legislative act means buying up goods for which state retail prices have been fixed and reselling these for purposes of gain. Actions of this kind are punished by deprivation of liberty for a term of up to three years, or by corrective labor up to two years with possible confiscation of property, or by a fine of up to 5,000 rubles [R]. Tougher sanctions are provided for speculation committed repeatedly, or on a major scale, or involving a prior deal with a group of individuals, as is equally the case for speculation by a retail trade worker making use of his official position: a fine of up to R15,000, or deprivation of liberty for a term of up to 10 years. Punishments for the illegal sale of goods from warehouses and bases of trade enterprises have been fixed specially.

Supreme Soviet Discusses Investment Legislation

LD3110200390 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 31 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The two legislative bodies that were working in Moscow today—the Union parliament and the Russian one—devoted practically the whole day to the problems of the market. To tell the truth, however, different topics were discussed. Let us start with the reportage from the Kremlin.

[Begin recording] [correspondent G. Svishchenkov] At the joint sitting of the chambers, deputies concluded the discussion of the first reading of the draft fundamentals of the legislation on investments in the USSR. The speeches noted that the document creates a new legal basis for investment activities and can serve as a basis for adopting relevant Union and republican legislative acts. It is designed to aid the implementation of the "main directions for the stabilization of the national economy and the transition to a market economy" and will facilitate commercial activities. The draft has been criticized as insufficient in terms of its anti-monopoly tendencies. The deputies approved the document in its first reading and handed it over to the committees for further elaboration in line with the remarks that were expressed.

The parliament has adopted a decision on the situation that has arisen in connection with the underground nuclear explosion on Novaya Zemlya on 24 October. The deputies drew the attention of government bodies to the inadmissibility of violating the procedures for such actions.

Then Deputy Engert spoke on Political Prisoner's Day, which was marked yesterday. In particular, he stated that the media have distorted the image of the USSR Supreme Soviet and lowered its dignity, because the parliamentary correspondents of TASS and IZVESTIYA did not reflect the reaction and the attitude of the Supreme Soviet to this memorable date in their reports on the sittings of the session.

After that the deputies considered a number of other documents. Concluding the last joint sitting of the chambers before the parliamentary recess, Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov said:

[Lukyanov] We would very much like you, comrades, when you go back to your constituencies, on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet to convey to your electorates best wishes for the holidays, as well as to convey to your electorates the need for general calm and restraint and for the unification of all forces around the policies that the USSR Supreme Soviet has been and still is elaborating. This must be done for the sake of the very hard work that lies ahead of the country this winter and next year. [end recording]

Lukyanov Addresses Supreme Soviet Before Recess

LD3110234190 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1850 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Remarks by Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the 31 October session of the USSR Supreme Soviet held in the Kremlin in Moscow; from the "At the USSR Supreme Soviet" program—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] This was the last joint sitting of the chambers before the legislative holidays. Concluding it, Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov said:

[Lukyanov] We would like very much, comrades, that you, on going back home, going back home, on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet, sent your electors the best wishes for the holiday: that you told your electors about the necessity of general tranquility, restraint, and unification of all forces around the policy which was and is being elaborated by the USSR Supreme Soviet and which is aimed at the very difficult work which the country will face this winter and next year. We would like you to meet your electors, to tell them about the activities of the Supreme Soviet.

I should say that given the presence of complicated issues, colossally complicated issues, in the beginning of this session, we overcame these difficult rapids. We overcame them paying respect to the opinions of our electors, paying respect to the opinions of the supreme soviets of the Union and autonomous republics, and with a desire to work closely with them. Confrontation here will not lead anywhere. We must be fully united. I think that this will be very important when you are addressing your voters. It will be important to hear what awaits us, then you can come back to the session after the break enriched with people's proposals, especially as regards the use of our laws.

Your trips will coincide with the 73rd anniversary of the Great October. Many of you will stay with your voters for the holiday and for all festive events. This is correct. Those who stay in Moscow, members of the Supreme Soviet, people's deputies—I ask you to participate, to take part in, first of all the solemn sitting, the holding of which was made incumbent upon the Presidium by the Supreme Soviet, and which will take place here in the Kremlin on 6 November.

And here is, comrades, what I would like to tell you once again. We would like to send best wishes for the forthcoming holiday to every one of you, your nearest and dearest, your relatives, on behalf of the chairmen of the chambers, of the Supreme Soviet leadership. However complicated our life is, it is all connected with things begun by the great October. I would like to wish all of you well-being, and express our gratitude for the friendly, joint, concerted work which we are growing more and more familiar with, and which we are carrying out side by side.

USSR Supreme Soviet 31 Oct Proceedings Outlined LD3110214790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1850 GMT on 31 October carries its scheduled 60-minute "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session" program, consisting of recorded highlights of the 31 October USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

The studio announcer opens by saying that today deputies began by discussing investment activity in USSR. Deputies Balbasov, Yetlin, Skvortsov, Desyatov, Podbereskiy, Veprev, and Kurtashin spoke. They discussed the significance of the draft law on investment activities. They

stressed it will have great effect on commercial activities. The draft law was criticized for not being sufficiently antimonopolistic.

Deputy Serov, chairman of the State Construction Committee, comes to the podium to talk about the draft law and the work which has been done on it. He considers that it is ready for adoption. Deputy Komarov disputes certain statements that have been made in connection with Article 18 of the draft law. He agrees with the three proposals made by Desyatov which were not included in the draft, because it was considered that this would be going into too much detail. He rejects the allegations that this draft law helps preserve central control of investment.

The draft law is then put to vote, as is the question of whether it should be worked on further in commissions. The vote count was: 353 for, 1 against, 5 abstentions.

Deputy Andreyevna then comes to the microphone and talks about copyright and intellectual property as part of the draft law on investment. Unfortunately these concepts are badly misunderstood in USSR, she says.

Chairman Nishanov says that the proposal is good but does not belong to this discussion. He then moves on to discussion of the explosion at Novaya Zemlya. A draft resolution has been drawn up: Nishanov asks for deputies' comments.

The studio announcer says deputies Osipov, Medvedev, Akhromeyev, and others spoke, but they are not quoted.

Nishanov then talks of proposals to change the wording of the resolution. The resolution is adopted without a vote.

The deputies then turn to the draft law on profiteering. Lukyanov gives an account of its legislative history. Several proposals have been made.

Comrade Golik, chairman of the Committee on Questions Law and Order and the Fight Against Crime, comes to podium and recounts the work undertaken on the draft law taking into account the various proposals received. He talks of the limitations imposed on the legislators, including the fact that many goods in state shops have artificially low prices which allows for profiteering. He says that the individual speculator is being squeezed out by large organized groups. Large consignments of goods are bought up thus ensuring a monopoly in a particular area, enabling speculators to sell at inflated prices. He continues further description of various articles of the law.

Questions from floor follow. An unidentified deputy expresses the view that this law is an extraordinary measure, whereas the draft law on trade and mediation activity is a long-term measure. Will the adoption of the law on speculation not bring the USSR Supreme Soviet into conflict with the Russian Supreme Soviet?

Golik denies that this is an extraordinary measure. He does not know whether this will cause any conflict with the Russian legislature.

Deputy Reshetnikov continues discussion of this draft law. He describes how it was developed. He says that there can be no limitation on goods that a person himself can make, but goods on which the state has a monopoly must be covered by law.

Deputies express their opinions from the floor. Lukyanov suggests approval for deputies' proposal on trade and middleman activity. More deputies intervene from the floor. Lukyanov proposes a vote on first reading: 291 for, 27 against, 33 abstentions. This applies to the Soviet of the Union. The other house will have to vote tomorrow.

Speaking before the recess, Lukyanov asks deputies to extend best wishes to constituents and calls on them for their support. Lukyanov asks deputies to attend the festive session on 6 November if they are in Moscow. He expresses best wishes and thanks deputies for their efforts.

Supreme Soviet Outlines Winter Preparation Plans

LD3110230990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet has acknowledged that winter preparation of the national economy, of the country's housing stock, and of social facilities are unsatisfactory. In a resolution, the USSR Council of Ministers is instructed to adopt immediate measures to eliminate the lag in the extraction and transportation of fuel, in the start-up and overhaul of power engineering facilities, to implement strict policy in the sphere of saving fuel and power engineering resources in all sectors of the national economy, and to complete this year the development of the country's power engineering program and to submit it to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The USSR president is recommended to issue the necessary decrees to implement practical measures to ensure the stable functioning of the country's economy over the winter period and the effective utilization of power engineering and other resources.

Resolution Adopted on Transport Crime Law

PM3110121790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 3

[Supreme Soviet resolution "On the Implementation of the USSR Law 'On Criminal Liability for Blocking Transport Communications and Other Unlawful Acts Encroaching on the Normal and Safe Work of Transportation'" signed by Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in Moscow on 23 October]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. That the USSR Law "On Criminal Liability for Blocking Transport Communications and Other Unlawful Acts Encroaching on the Normal and Safe Work of Transportation" be implemented from the moment of its publication.

2. That the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree dated 3 January 1973 "On Criminal Liability for the Seizure of Aircraft" (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOVO SOVETA SSSR 1937 No. 1, page 3, 1982, No. 42, page 793) be deemed no longer valid.

3. That local organs of state power remove obstacles to the fulfillment of official duties by transport workers, ensure the maintenance of public order in stations, airports, ports, and other transport enterprises, institutions, and organizations, prevent the blocking of transport communications and other unlawful acts that hinder regular and steady work in transportation on the territory of the regions in question, and to this end also give assistance and help to transport enterprises, institutions, and organizations in their activity.

Transport enterprises, institutions, and organizations will receive compensation from guilty parties for damage caused as a result of the deliberate blocking of transport communications and other unlawful acts encroaching on the unhindered and safe work of transportation, according to the procedure established by law, and also from local organs of state power if they do not take the necessary measures to prevent and suppress the deliberate blocking of transport communications.

4. In order to protect public order in transportation, provide unhindered and safe travel for citizens in all forms of transport, and ensure the safety of transport workers and the timely and safe delivery of freight, USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Troops may be brought in according to the procedure established by law.

5. That the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the USSR KGB, and the USSR Prosecutor's Office ensure that resolute measures be taken for the prevention, timely discovery, and investigation of crimes in transportation.

A preliminary investigation into cases of crimes stipulated in the USSR Law "On Criminal Liability for Blocking Transport Communications and Other Unlawful Acts Encroaching on the Normal and Safe Work of Transportation" is carried out by internal affairs organs investigators.

That the USSR Prosecutor's Office implement measures for the centralization of the country's transport prosecutors' offices.

6. That the USSR Council of Ministers implement effective measures to increase passengers' security in transport and, if need be, introduce proposals on improving existing legislation.

[Signed] A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

Moscow Kremlin 23 October 1990

Political & Social**Gorbachev Chairs Presidential Council Session***PM0111100190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Nov 90 Second Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "Presidential Council Session"]

[Text] A session of the Presidential Council was held 31 October under the chairmanship of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev.

The Presidential Council, in whose work leaders of the USSR Council of Ministers took part, examined questions connected with the supply of food goods for the country's population and analyzed in detail the progress in preparing the national economy for work under winter conditions.

The session discussed the practical tasks of the USSR economy's transition to the market.

USSR President M.S. Gorbachev gave specific instructions on the questions discussed.

Gorbachev Meets With Student Representatives*LD0111073790 Moscow TASS in English 0726 GMT
1 Nov 90*

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—A meeting between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and students of Soviet higher educational establishments began in the Kremlin at 10:00 today.

According to the Students' Department of the Young Communist League Central Committee, the meeting is attended by 27 trade union student leaders, four members of the recently established Students' Information and Analytical Centre and 24 students, who represent higher educational establishments from across the country.

Warns Against 'Politicking'*LD0111094190 Moscow World Service in English
0900 GMT 1 Nov 90*

[Text] In Moscow President Mikhail Gorbachev has met with representatives of the country's students. College and university students from various regions, their trade union leaders, and several members of the newly founded student's information and analysis centers have been invited to the meeting attended by Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and some members of the Union Government, representatives of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, trade unions, the Young Communist League, young members of parliament, and prominent scientists.

Mikhail Gorbachev asked the students to express their ideas and demands. Opening the meeting, he urged those present not to fall to politicking into which youth is being lured. The president criticized the leading newspaper,

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, for such attempts and called on it to show balanced and responsible attitudes. Let's not begin, he said, with ultimatums similar to those put forward by the group of students that have decided to hold today a hunger strike at the Kremlin walls. We and the young people, said President Gorbachev, must not find ourselves at the different sides of the barricade. Perestroika started in 1985, he added, and will soon be continued by the younger generation.

Students Express Dissatisfaction*LD0111105290 Moscow TASS in English 0937 GMT
1 Nov 90*

[By TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Shvedova, Ivan Novikov, and Vladimir Shishlin]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev met student representatives from all over the country today morning [as received]. They included activists of student trade unions and other public organisations, delegates of the USSR student forum, members of the student council under the USSR Youth Organisations Committee, members of self-government bodies from leading higher schools of various Soviet republics.

The talk, which was sometimes rather sharp, focused on the prevailing moods of the studentry and the socio-political situation in higher schools. The address, which the students submitted to the president, expressed profound concern about the present state of the Soviet higher school and dissatisfaction with the government's decisions on student rights and interests.

President Gorbachev stressed that the country is now engrossed in vigorous work and can hardly resolve all its problems without the help of the young people. "The cause that we initiated in 1985," Gorbachev said, "will be continued by the new generation. We must now plan our efforts for the coming decades." The president stressed that "it must be borne in mind that we are not on opposite sides of the barricade."

Taking part in the talk were Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov, Politburo member Aleksandr Dzasokhov, Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education Gennadiy Yagodin and Chairman of the USSR Confederation of Trade Unions Vladimir Shcherbakov.

In light of the complicated political and socio-economic situation in the country and dropping prestige of intellectual labour, the students asked the president and government to solve several concrete problems immediately in order to stabilise the situation with students. They include the raising of allocations for public education to 10 per cent of the total budget revenues and of scholarships to the official subsistence minimum with due account for regional coefficients, to establish a mechanism to index scholarships and to give priority attention to the construction of education projects.

The president and the government, the students believe, must do everything they can in this direction, up to and including a special presidential decree on the studentry. They called for the discussion of their problems by the federal and republican parliaments.

Centrist Bloc Gives Ryzhkov 'Shadow Cabinet' List

LD3110221390 Moscow TASS in English 2125 GMT 31 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—The centrist bloc of Soviet political parties and movements met today to discuss cooperation with all-Union bodies of power. This mass organization uniting some 20 parties and movements was established last summer.

The discussion centered on the results of a meeting between representatives of five parties, members of the bloc, and Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov in the Kremlin on October 29.

Chairman of the bloc's organizing committee Vladimir Voronin said that the meeting had discussed issues concerning the country's pulling out of the crisis.

The bloc's representatives had voiced support for the formation of a coalition government of national concord on a multiparty basis.

They had also discussed the bloc's participation in supporting and cooperating with the Soviet Army and assisting strong presidential power in the country.

The bloc's representatives had examined with Ryzhkov the transition to a law-governed state and the supremacy of law over all other acts.

"We came to the meeting to help the country and the president and to shoulder part of the heavy burden he bears," Voronin continued.

Voronin told TASS that the meeting with Ryzhkov had been "constructive." He also said that the list of a "shadow cabinet" had been handed over to Ryzhkov.

According to him, Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak was to be prime minister, Colonel-General Boris Gromov who commanded Soviet troops in Afghanistan—defence minister, and Svyatoslav Fyodorov, leading specialist in eye surgery—public health minister.

Meeting participants told TASS that Chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy has a claim on the post of foreign minister, former KGB Major-General Oleg Kalugin was nominated for the post of chairman of the State Security Committee.

Participants in today's meeting did not take any decision on the question under discussion. Most diverse, sometimes opposite, viewpoints were expressed. This shows considerable differences in the bloc on many pressing problems.

Many speakers used the meeting more for self-praise than for constructive proposals.

Bloc Favors 'Strong' Executive

LD3110185190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Participants in a meeting of the Centrist Bloc of political parties and movements have come out in favor of supporting strong presidential power, and of the government's efforts to stabilize the situation in the country.

The meeting took place in Moscow today and discussed the formation of a national concord coalition government and other issues. Information on the meeting between the Bloc's leaders and comrade Ryzhkov, during which he was handed proposals on the composition of a future coalition government, was received.

'Center-Left Radical Bloc' Holds News Conference

LD3010112590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Oct (TASS)—The Russian center-left radical bloc [levotsentristskiy radikalniy blok rossii] sets itself the principal goal of building a free, democratic, and humanitarian society, and it rejects any of the theoretical dogmas of the past. It will fight against any signs of autocracy, and is striving toward the creation of an alliance of center-left and center forces to undermine the influence of the ultra-left and ultra-right groups in the country. We will stand out against the raising of national, religious, and social strife. This is stated by Aleksey Brumel, leader of the radical faction in the bloc, at a news conference today. In addition to this faction there are also factions of radicals of the Moscow People's Front, the Garry Kasparov group, the Russian Democratic Forum, and the Association for Soviet-American Integration.

He added that the bloc's political principles include the attainment of their ends only within the framework of humanitarian laws. Were we to come to power, we would revoke laws and even articles in the constitution which we consider to be anti-humanitarian and immoral.

At first, it seemed to everyone at the news conference that everything Aleksey Brumel was proposing was not all that bad. But, growing more heated, he began to use quite different phrases. "We are not Leninists," he declared, "who seize state institutions with the help of machineguns. We will do this without using force, but in a stern and firm way." He did not consider it necessary to explain what he meant by "stern and firm."

On it went in the same vein. "The moral principle," according to the leader of the radical faction, "is above the judicial one. We will take this as our starting point, then we will see what develops from there." The bloc,

which Aleksey Brumel asserted numbers about 10,000 people, is, as it turns out, demanding the resignation of the union government and considers there is no need to conclude a union treaty which, in his words "will be a new enslavement of independent states" he, also considers the institution of president not necessary in the Soviet Union. Although admittedly, "for the moment," he does not say anything personally against Gorbachev occupying the post.

The journalists who were at the news conference all agreed that Aleksey Brumel was most concerned about his own publicity in holding this sort of a meeting with journalists. His desire to seize personal leadership of the bloc is clearly evident in his grandiose political phrases.

Political Parties' Leaders Hold Consultations

*PM3010140590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Consultations Held"]

[Text] A consultative meeting of leaders and representatives of various political parties, public unions, and movements was held in Moscow 27 October 1990.

Those taking part discussed measures aimed at the unification of all forces prepared to promote the peaceful solution of topical economic, social, political, and legal problems. The representatives of parties and movements agreed to make efforts to elaborate constructive measures to end interethnic conflicts. Readiness was voiced to take part in the elaboration of drafts of a Union treaty and other laws.

Those taking part in the meeting concluded an interparty political agreement aimed at stabilizing the country's sociopolitical life and expressed the wish to hold such meetings regularly.

Karpov Views Background of 24 Oct Nuclear Test

*LD3110180590 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT
31 Oct 90*

[By TASS correspondents Leonid Timofeyev and Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—The October 24 nuclear test on Novaya Zemlya was "the only one this year and there will be no others," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov told a news conference here today.

Taking part in the conference were representatives of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the Soviet Defence Ministry, the Ministry of Nuclear Power Engineering and the respective industry and the Soviet State Committee for Hydrometeorology.

Speaking about reasons for carrying out the test at this time, Karpov said that the test had been adjourned for nearly a year due to the Soviet unilateral moratorium. As a result, the term the nuclear charge could be stored had

expired and its further storage could entail unpredictable consequences. This is why the decision was made to explode the charge this year.

The Soviet Union favours a ban on all nuclear testing, Karpov said. It is ready to work in this direction through bilateral negotiations with the United States, within the framework of the Geneva disarmament talks and at the conference devoted to amending the 1963 treaty banning tests in three environments, a conference scheduled for next January.

Karpov stressed that the Soviet Union was ready to follow yet another route—that of moratoriums on nuclear explosions, first on a bilateral basis with the United States, and then on an expanding basis, including all countries, as a provisional measure before legally binding agreements are reached.

"But we cannot promise at this point, with no plausible prospects for the moratorium or for the conclusion of agreement on a complete test ban, that the Soviet Union will unilaterally end all tests," Karpov said.

Speaking about the meeting on Monday with the ambassadors of the Nordic countries, Karpov stressed that the envoys showed understanding of the reasons that prompted the nuclear test on Novaya Zemlya. He supported the proposal voiced by the ambassadors to hold an international symposium to work out universal criteria for the approach towards underground nuclear explosions.

Asked if the Novaya Zemlya site was used because of the closure of the Semipalatinsk testing ground, participants in the news conference noted that no final decision had yet been reached concerning the functioning of the Semipalatinsk testing ground. The same applies to Novaya Zemlya.

Speaking about the programme for further tests, they said that presently there were no other nuclear charges on the Soviet testing grounds. New explosions will be planned for the future in line with the necessity of ensuring the country's defence sufficiency.

Speakers at the news conference stressed that respective ministries and departments have repeatedly informed deputies at all levels and the press that every nuclear test is carried out in accordance with the decision of the Soviet Government. The final decision is made by the Defence Council under the Soviet president. Specific dates are defined taking into account technical preparations for the test, weather conditions and the state of diagnosing devices.

KGB Takes Steps To Rehabilitate Stalin Victims

*LD3110182190 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1629 GMT 31 Oct 90*

[“In the USSR Committee for State Security”—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 31 October (TASS)—Here is a report made by the Center for Social Connections of the USSR KGB:

Serious work is being done in our country aimed at the rehabilitation of victims of the Stalin terror, and employees of the bodies of the state security are taking an active part in this purifying process. Like all Soviet people, they uncompromisingly condemn the arbitrariness and lawlessness which has taken place, and hold up to shame the organizers and executors of crimes against their own people. Decisively alienating themselves from the heritage of the past, the present generation of security officers thinks that it is their moral and civil responsibility to broaden and make more active their work aimed at the restoration of the historical truth and justice by all means.

The Committee for State Security, together with the soviets and the law-enforcement organs, is engaged in a search for the mass burial sites, and is taking measures to immortalize the memory of the people who perished innocently. The scrupulous everyday work of the Chekists helped to uncover many tragic pages of our recent history. With their help and personal involvement, the good name was restored to many millions of victims, and 36 mass burial sites—including those in Vladivostok, Voronezh, Donetsk, Irkutsk, Kemerovo, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, and Chernigov—have been identified and recognized as official cemeteries. Information on burials in Alma-Ata, Archangel, Ashkhabad, Nizhniy Novgorod, Saransk, Tula, Ufa, Chita, and other towns is being verified. Documentary evidence, with the names of many victims buried in Moscow at Vagankovo and Donskoye cemeteries, has been discovered. Similar work is being carried out on the burial sites in the regions of Butovo and the "Kommunarka" state farm in Moscow Oblast. Names of the dead are being given to the press for publication.

However, the memory of the millions of those tormented to death in Stalinist torture chambers requires still more attention to this work, and to its purposeful implementation. The Committee for State Security faces the tasks of facilitating the examination of the criminal files by using the archive materials; of stepping up the search for the burial sites; of constantly coordinating its activities with the soviets of the peoples' deputies, associations of the repressed, and other public organizations; of providing help in restoring the official and memorial cemeteries to their proper order; and of building and erecting memorials to the victims of terror. The public should be systematically informed about the results of the work of rehabilitation.

The process of fulfilling these tasks remains under the constant close supervision of the local and central KGB organs. These questions were the subject of a special discussion at a conference in the USSR Committee for State Security.

100 Political Prisoners Reportedly Held

LD3110231990 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2115 GMT 31 Oct 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Speaking at a rally in Moscow, a Democratic Union [Demokraticheskiy Soyuz] spokesman has declared that there are 100 political detainees in our prisons. That is the assessment made by the Democratic Union.

People's Deputy on Political Prisoners' Fate

LD3010100790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0500 GMT on 30 October broadcasts a five-minute interview with Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) People's Deputy Sergey Adamovich Kovalev by correspondent Vladimir Korablev on the occasion of Political Prisoner's Day, which is being officially marked for the first time in the USSR. Kovalev, who spent some ten years as a political prisoner, says the day was instituted by political prisoners in the Mordovian camps in 1974.

Today 18 political prisoners remain in the last political zone; the 35th Zone in Perm oblast not far from the town of Chusovoy, he adds. In mid-August 1990 the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Human Rights toured prisons, including the 35th Zone, speaking with each of the twenty prisoners there—now two have been set free. The cases were very different but all of them are due to be reviewed and the Committee is vigorously trying to get them reviewed. The Committee also visited Chistopol where Mikhail Kazakhov still remains a prisoner. It has been possible for the committee to have three and a half years of his 18 1/2-year sentence remitted, Kovalev discloses. Kazakhov was convicted on the basis of Article 64 regarding treason of the homeland. He was charged with espionage. According to the profound conviction of Kovalev and the conviction of many lawyers who studied this case, the charge was not proved. His conviction can be regarded as a typical political repression. He is to be released very soon as the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet has taken a decision to pardon him. Perhaps today these documents have at last been received by the prison and he has already been set free, Kovalev concludes.

Journalist Denied Access to New KGB Museum

91UF0087A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Oct 90 Union Edition p 6

[Article by V. Remizov: "USSR KGB Museum: Welcome, or Unauthorized Persons Not Admitted"]

[Text] The "Chekist Hall of the USSR KGB" held an official presentation for journalists at 1100 on 10

October in the F.E. Dzerzhinskiy Central Club in Lubyanka. To put it more simply—the KGB museum. Unfortunately I cannot talk about how contemporary Chekists assess the history of their organization: I did not succeed in getting into the museum. That is why the following review is about this specifically—how and why I was not able to get into the museum. It is written for those who will still try.

We will say right off that IZVESTIYA received an official invitation from the KGB for the opening of the museum. Alas, placing too much trust in the word "perestroyka" and hastily assuming that the museum connotes the idea that "you bought a ticket and may enter," I phoned the Center for Public Relations of the USSR KGB at 1130 and inquired where the museum is located and how late it is open. The question, which was put in such a naive way, confused Viktor Pressman, executive secretary of the center, and he began to ask why the IZVESTIYA correspondent did not come at the time indicated on the invitation?

"But is entry not free?"

"You understand, museum employees have so much work, and there are so many who want to get into the KGB...."

There is no sense in retelling the exchange that followed. Viktor Pressman undertook to organize a museum visit for us, with a newspaper photographer, and... he was unable to do this. This is the gist of the answer to the editorial office: The museum workers are very busy now. He proposed that we obtain information on what the KGB museum represents through official TASS channels.

However, it should be said for the sake of fairness that IZVESTIYA employees still have an opportunity to get into this museum: As was said in the KGB, they will be "offered most favorable treatment procedures." For this, it is necessary to compile an application in written form and send it to the USSR KGB Center for Public Relations. It must set forth our wishes; show the desired dates and hours of the visit; and also the first names, patronymics, and last names of the visitors.

KGB Responds to Article

91UF0087B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Oct 90 Union Edition p 4

[Letter to IZVESTIYA from USSR KGB Public Relations Center employee, and reply to KGB by IZVESTIYA news editor: "Letter to the KGB"]

[Text] Several days ago, issue No. 283 of IZVESTIYA carried a review by our correspondent V. Remizov under the title "The USSR KGB Museum: Welcome, or Unauthorized Persons Not Admitted." It seemed to us that the whole point of the review could be guessed easily from its title. It appears that it is no easier to enter the KGB

museum today than it was to get out of the KGB in those well-known times which the exposition recounts in particular.

The department's reaction to the publication was, pardon the unintentional pun, operational. The doors of the museum were opened a little wider? Or they closed the restricted museum altogether? Neither one nor the other: The officials, not paying attention to the essence of the review, were simply offended, and they dispatched a publicist document to the editorial office under the title:

"Assault on Open Doors, or Let's Talk About the Rules of Good Form"

We quote the document in question word for word:

How do you prepare a newspaper 'hoax?' Well, it is very simple.... In one hand you take the invitational ticket to a presentation at the Chekist hall that the USSR KGB Public Relations Center sent to the editorial office of the newspaper IZVESTIYA, and in the other hand you take a fountain pen, wrinkles gather on the brow like the pleats of an accordion... and there it is, an unpretentious opus under the very original heading 'USSR KGB Museum: Welcome, or Unauthorized Persons Not Admitted' (IZVESTIYA, No. 283, 11 October 1990). It is approximately a column of discourse concerning the lack of secular education on the part of the officials of the KGB. These, they say unfortunate people, should know the rules of good form, and in inviting from among numerous Soviet and foreign correspondents such a leading personality as V. Remizov, they should foresee a bad dream and later the awakening of the master, or a cold caught suddenly at the time scheduled for the visit, or something else, and adapting to the spiritual and physical condition of the creator of the IZVESTIYA pages postpone the cited meeting to a better time, or stipulate his exclusive right to a personal presentation. But such a thing could not even enter the heads of the "boors" in the KGB, owing to their lack of subtlety and refinement. So that is all there is to it.... But further, it is possible to get in line at the cashier's window for an honorarium. It is nice, is it not? There are not many difficulties, and he butted the state security officers in the behind—look, it will be to his credit—and all for money. All-round dividends. To V. Remizov, who suffers to all appearances from a lack of an elementary professional curiosity and the desire to find material for publication outside editorial corridors, such a method of creativity is probably logical and natural. What is unnatural in this case is the position of IZVESTIYA, properly reputed to be a solid newspaper that values its reputation, which allowed such a stereotyped odd job to appear in newsprint that is in such short supply. To ascribe its own slackness to regular KGB intrigues is at the very least impolite, and at most.... However, I will not insult respectable people by trying at the same time to mitigate the undeserved rebukes about the lack of education among employees of the USSR KGB Center for Public Relations. Being unafraid of falling into disgrace with

those responsible for producing the issue, I will risk giving a piece of professional advice: Be on your guard, comrades, otherwise it is possible to end up in the situation of the noncommissioned officer's widow who flogged herself [reference to incident in N.V. Gogol's "Inspector" suggesting false accusation and possible fine].

...But there really is a desire for more fruitful cooperation.

[Signed] A.V. Zakharov, employee of the USSR KGB Public Relations Center, who personally transmitted the invitational ticket to IZVESTIYA.

Letter to the KGB

Dear Comrades!

We really would like to hope for more fruitful cooperation, if of course by the word "cooperation" you mean the same thing we do. Otherwise, nothing will be gained except blistering insults and scathing rebukes.

Even if you take the word "museum." It has always seemed to us that a museum is a place that is readily accessible. We even looked in the dictionary: "Museum—an establishment that collects, stores, and displays exhibits for viewing..."

It is very likely that the KGB has its own interpretation of this word, for to get into its museum: it is necessary: To compile an application in written form and send it to the USSR KGB Public Relations Center. Moreover, the application must set forth the desired visit dates and times, and also the first names, patronymics, and last names of the visitors. In any case, that is the method for getting into the "Chekist Hall" which was explained to our correspondent. About which he also reported in the newspaper. For some reason you did not note this, concentrating your efforts on supposed greed, unprofessionalism, and even the correspondent's cold.

We are obliged to thank you for your rapt attention to the health and professional qualities of journalistic personnel, and to wish future success to a museum that is wide open to everyone who fills out an extensive form.

As for the ticklish situation of the noncommissioned officer's widow who flogged herself, it is easier of course for you to understand her condition. If only by virtue of belonging to the officer rank.

[Signed] IZVESTIYA news editor.

P.S. Like all other authors, Comrade Zakharov can acquire an honorarium for the "rejoinder" at IZVESTIYA's cash desk. Admission is free.

Depoliticization of Armenian KGB Discussed

91UF0079A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian No 42, 20 Oct 90 p 2

[Report on interview with U. Arutyunyan, chairman of the Armenian Committee for State Security, by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent I. Verdiyán; place and date not given: "A Partyless Chekist?"]

[Text] The other day the Armenian Committee for State Security brought to the attention of the country's Supreme Soviet the question of a quicker depoliticization of the organs of state security. Our correspondent asked U. Arutyunyan, chairman of the Armenian Committee for State Security, to answer a number of questions concerning the reasons for the action that was taken.

[Verdiyán] I will not hide the fact, Usik Surenovich, that when I first heard of the depoliticization of the KGB, that...

[Arutyunyan] That you did not believe your ears?

[Verdiyán] A complete fantasy, and, moreover, so to speak, in a Western motif. Actually, how did this happen?

[Arutyunyan] At first, in the primary party organizations. Afterwards, on their demand, an open party meeting was also held in the committee. There was a question on the agenda concerning the attitude of the party organizations of the Armenian KGB toward the process of depoliticization of the law enforcement organs and measures for their implementation in our department.

[Verdiyán] This was right after the depoliticization of the Supreme Court of the republic, the Office of the Public Prosecutor, and the Ministry of Justice...

[Arutyunyan] Right. So, by an overwhelming majority of votes, the meeting resolved to recognize the need for a faster depoliticization of the organs of the republic's KGB. An appeal to the Armenian Supreme Soviet was also approved. I am conveying this verbatim: "The collective of the Armenian KGB, recognizing the importance of the processes of democratization of state and public life and responsibility for guaranteeing the safety of the people, fully supports the declaration of independence of Armenia of 23 August 1990.

"In the situation that has really evolved and under conditions of political pluralism and assertions of a multiparty system, employees of the republic KGB think that a faster depoliticization of law enforcement organs is necessary, understanding this to mean a prohibition on membership and participation of employees of the Armenian KGB in any kind of political parties and organizations for the period of work, and also the activity of these structures in the system of organs of state security of the republic."

[Verdiyán] Extremely interesting. Little by little the threatening profile of the KGB, which put fear into the

people, is changing. The year 1937, the hunt for dissidents in the stagnant times...are difficult to expunge from the public's conscience. You will agree that it will not be that easy to become a favorite of the people. First and foremost, there is an emotional barrier...

[Arutyunyan] Of course, our KGB organs are to blame for a lot of things. But, you will agree, they were carrying out the law in prosecuting differently-minded people. It is another matter that the laws, to put it mildly, were far from perfect.

The main thing now is to preserve the collective of professionals and that it work within the framework of the Constitution. For it cannot be denied that we are doing work that is necessary to the state and to society. Agent operations activity is conducted in the entire civilized world. However, unfortunately, no law has been adopted on the KGB that would regulate its work.

As for the emotional barrier, I will say frankly: It can be overcome by making the activity of the state security organs open and public, other than, of course, professional and state secrets. Incidentally, if you noticed, openness is also encouraged by the leadership of the USSR KGB.

[Verdyan] Will it be comfortable for the Chekists outside a party?

[Arutyunyan] But we cannot start different parties in KGB party committees! There is one objective, and there is one task: To serve the people and national interests and not the hierarchy of any party.

Nina Andreyeva Elected Pro-Stalin Group Leader

*LD3010101190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0230 GMT 30 Oct 90*

[Text] The third conference of the Unity of Leninism and Communist Ideals All-Union Society, better known as the Society of Nina Andreyeva, has taken place.

The aim of the conference was to prepare for the 20th Congress of the VKPB [All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks]. Questions were examined connected with the crisis, which those present see explained by the degeneration of the ruling stratum of the CPSU and in the implantation of the capitalist market. Reports were also heard in defense of Stalin's reputation and cause, as well as historical information regarding the sources (?and) specialists concerning repressions, their well-foundedness, and their liability to be distorted in the present-day mass information media.

It was decided to work in the party structures and to create a Bolshevik platform of the CPSU in order to oust renegades and opportunists from the CPSU.

The executive committee of the All-Union Society was elected. Nina Andreyeva has become its chairman.

PRAVDA's Frolov Writes on CPSU's New Role

*PM3110152690 Madrid ABC in Spanish
26 Oct 90 p 80*

[Article by Ivan Frolov, editor of PRAVDA and CPSU Politburo member: "A New Communist Party"]

[Text] The renewal of the CPSU. The renewal of society.

What is the Party under the new conditions? In answering this question we conclude that the Party is above all an ideological and political force and not a link in bureaucratic-authoritarian management. This is how every Communist must see himself, not indulging in nostalgia for the past and memories of the leadership role previously guaranteed to it by the constitution.

Nevertheless, some people have recently lost sight of the real role performed by the CPSU in contemporary society. The "shift of power" toward other political structures prompted many people to leave the CPSU or to stop working in the Party organizations. I consider this a big mistake. I often draw the following comparison: The Party is like a nuclear reactor abandoned by its staff; from the outside the reactor may seem to some people to be activated [as published], but in fact it is still functioning, and God knows where its abandonment by the most skilled staff could lead us.

How do we now view the CPSU? Above all, it is a new party, a living and working party that has abandoned authoritarian methods and structures, that has freed itself from the bondage of the state command system, and that at last occupies its place in the country's political construction. The Party is a political force that has bridged the gulf between people and politics, that integrates thinking, action, intellect, and practice in a single whole.

This is why Communists must now tell the people clearly that they are struggling to resolve the most burning problems, namely food, housing, health, and the environment. Problems approached not as they were before—as by a structure standing above the state—but from a practical viewpoint so as to propose its own formulas for a solution (not excluding the possibility of other alternatives), advocated so that they will prevail and so that its political solutions are accepted in the Soviets (legislatures), problems whose solution must be organized together with the organs of state power.

The Party's task is to restore the authority of Marxist thinking, the authenticity of Marxism as a creative theory, and thus to regard itself as part of the stream of universal ideas. These are the tasks that the new CPSU program must perform.

The Party has a duty to think about the "soul," the humanization of all aspects of life, culture, economy, and science. The Party must take the strategic initiative for society's moral rebirth. It is no secret that this is the main source of the criticisms that we receive which portray the Party as an "evil empire" responsible for

everything that happened under Stalinism and that forces Communists—who are the ones that suffered most in the repressions—to shoulder the moral and even legal responsibility for the terror and bloodshed of the past.

Most Party members have nothing to reproach themselves for. They are people who have shared the people's lot and are not responsible for the crimes committed by tyrants and dictators. But at the same time the moral rebirth is an acknowledgment of just how distressing the past was. We must look at ourselves and history honestly and clearly, without concealing the "blots" and without lapsing into absolutist and nihilist denials.

Only thus, adopting the principles of the new qualitative transformation of the Party, can we achieve the essentials in the course of perestroika: humanism, a democratic system, and the rebirth of our homeland. All this, I am sure, is the foundation of the CPSU's historic mission, and it has abandoned the bureaucratic atavism of the CPSU under present conditions [sentence as published].

Frolov Discusses PRAVDA's Financial Independence

91UN0171A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 26 Oct 90 p 2

[Report by V. Yurlov: "Another Step Toward Independence of the Press"]

[Text] Moscow—In the permanent press center of the CPSU Central Committee there was a meeting of Soviet and foreign journalists with a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, PRAVDA editor in chief, Academician I.T. Frolov.

Party concerns are I.T. Frolov's main concerns. Recently one more duty was added to the list of those he has to perform: He was installed as chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Commission for Education, Science, and Culture. In his opinion, if the party has receded into the background in several areas of society life, in this area, the one that is most closely related to the party, the work is not abating.

I.T. Frolov was asked many questions about the conflict in PRAVDA between part of the collective and the editor in chief. As some of the mass media asserted, a lack of confidence in him was even expressed. Ivan Timofeyevich admitted that he had informed the collective of his readiness to leave the post of editor in chief. But neither the CPSU Central Committee Politburo nor the Secretariat would accept his resignation. I.T. Frolov reported that the meeting of the Central Committee Secretariat the night before had approved his suggestions concerning the creation of a newspaper association on the basis of PRAVDA.

QUESTION FROM RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA

"Please tell us in more detail about your plan for this concern and what it will do for PRAVDA and other party publications."

"The idea itself," said Ivan Timofeyevich, "is that, while continuing to be an organ of the CPSU Central Committee and retaining a close ideological connection with it, it could gain greater freedom in economic and financial activity. It is no secret to anyone that up to this point all of our financial problems have been solved in the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs. But we want to be fully independent in this regard, we want to earn our own money and spend it at our own discretion. Realizing these ideas in practice will not only help PRAVDA workers to become masters of their funds, but all party publications will be given equal rights. I do not want to go into the details, many of which still have to be straightened out, but I am convinced that quite soon newspapers will be given the opportunity to set the salaries for journalists independently and to invite eminent publicists and scholars to cooperate for any period of time without worrying about looking for funds to pay for their labor.

Medvedev Rejects Notion of Pressuring Media

PM3010104790 Moscow *KOMSOMOLSKAYA*
PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 90 p 2

[Letter from V.A. Medvedev, member of the Presidential Council, carried under headline: "Precision and Accuracy Are Simply Essential..."]

[Text] Esteemed Editors:

In this year's 12 October issue of *KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA* the writer G. Baklanov, expressing serious concern at the fact that "this is not the first year a number of publications have been inflaming the darkest passions," considered it necessary to recall a conversation with me on this topic.

This is how our conversation looks in Baklanov's interpretation: "I once approached our recent ideologist, Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, and said:

"How can you allow this?"

"But they don't listen to me."

"How can you remain in this chair if they don't listen to you?"

"But Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, as is well known, wears dark glasses."

Of course, no one can deny anyone's right to a subjective interpretation of what is happening, but where concrete facts are concerned, precision and accuracy are simply essential. Moreover, in the form in which it is conveyed by Baklanov, the dialogue creates a false idea about our conversation—the tough insistency, forthrightness, and resoluteness of one speaker, and the superficiality and helplessness of the other. I am not now talking about the transparent hint about dark glasses.

Unlike the writer, I will not undertake to reproduce the conversation word for word. But I can say that it was by no means confrontational. I do not recall the "delicate" statement about the chair I occupied; indeed it somehow does not tally with the esteemed writer's temperament. On my side the talk was about the impermissibility of ordering and bellowing at the press, which will not accept this from any quarter, especially in conditions of the formation of a rule-of-law state. As for the difference of positions and viewpoints voiced in the press, then here the natural path is—a polemic that is principled but which excludes personal attacks and the insulting of human dignity and national feelings. I have invariably stood for such a position in my communications with the editors of different publications.

Furthermore, the very questions which Grigoriy Yakovlevich, so he claims, posed in my presence in the conversation invite attention. It is not difficult to see that they are based on hopelessly outdated ideas about the functions of party organs—to allow one thing and not to allow another. I can say that I used to receive constantly demands to "suppress," "forbid," and "shutdown," now from one side, now from the other. In this respect the writer is not original.

CPSU's Sociopolitical Commission Meets

*PM3010110390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Seeking Ways To Cooperate and Agree"]

[Text] The first session of the CPSU Central Committee Sociopolitical Commission has been held. It discussed the principles of the commission's status and its priority tasks and aims.

V.A. Kuptsov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered a report at the commission.

The commission's main task, it was stressed during the session, is to help the CPSU Central Committee—as the party's supreme collective organ—to elaborate and implement a scientifically substantiated strategy and tactics in the sociopolitical sphere.

Given the particular dynamism of politics, the commission members decided not to set a strict framework for their future work, highlighting as the most important aspects of their activity questions of working with Communist deputies in the soviets, relations with the new political parties, social movements, and organizations, and the workers movement.

Many interesting proposals were made on the questions of elaborating tactics for cooperating with other social formations.

The commission set up a group to prepare recommendations on these questions for the CPSU Central Committee.

CPSU Primary Party Organizations Commission Meets

*PM3110140390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Basic Component"]

[Text] A sitting of the CPSU Central Committee Commission for the Renewal of the Activity of Primary Party Organizations was held 26 October.

Questions of the activity of primary party organizations in the current situation connected with the expansion of their rights and increase in responsibility for implementing party policy were discussed in detail at the sitting.

The commission deemed it expedient to hold zonal conferences of secretaries of primary party organizations in November-December.

The commission also examined questions of the organization of work on drafts of normative-methodical party documents. Ad hoc groups were formed within the commission to analyze and summarize Communists' proposals on these drafts.

The commission's plan of work for 1991 was ratified at the session. It envisages the study of important questions of the life of primary party organizations and their experience and the holding of an all-Union scientific and practical conference on party building and other measures.

O.S. Shenin, chairman of the commission, led the sitting.

Aganbegyan Interviewed on Basic Guidelines

*LD2610151790 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1856 GMT 25 Oct 90*

[Interview with academician Abel Gezevich Aganbegyan by Konstantin Podlazov at the Academy on the National Economy; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Podlazov] Abel Gezevich, the Basic Guidelines have been adopted by the Supreme Soviet—the Basic Guidelines for the Transition to a Market Economy. But now it is time for practical action. So what do you see—as one of those who drew up these basic guidelines—what do you see as the ways of implementing them?

[Aganbegyan] The actual implementation of the transitional measures is intended to take 18 months to two years, and the basic guidelines themselves contain the four stages of the work. But, you understand, the first stage is the most important. It is during the first period that we must stave off inflation—in other words, we must not allow a large rise in prices and must restrain the increase in prices. This increase has already begun: the increase in the purchase prices of grain and meat have been reflected in purchase prices in consumer cooperatives and in the collective farm market.

At the same time as restraining the growth of prices, we must carry out massive measures for the financial improvement of the national economy—primarily by reducing state expenditure and increasing budget revenue, which together must lower our budget deficit. It is also necessary to introduce tough financial conditions in enterprises, since the situation is a strange one: the state has no money, there is a huge deficit, and the enterprises have nowhere to put their money—there are no stocks of materials and capital equipment that they might find the money to acquire. So money loses its value. Also, of course, it is necessary, with benefit to the population and in the interests of the population, to tie up the population's monetary resources. To that end, such measures are envisaged as raising interest rates in the savings bank and protecting the people's deposits, broadening the sphere of payment [for services], enabling people to improve their living conditions through monetary resources, acquiring, for a moderate payment, of course, plots of land which are not measured in hundredths of a hectare. Well, it depends on the family and so on. Many millions of people want to acquire larger plots. Our country is big, thank God; there is plenty of land. There is a need to develop various kinds of insurance—in other words, to find effective uses for money. Of course, the main way is that of increasing the production of consumer goods, for which resources and capital investment must be redistributed into the sphere of the production of consumer goods and the services sphere. Additional incentives are needed, so that it is profitable to produce consumer goods, even in the heavy industry sectors. We pin great hopes on the conversion of military production and the concentration of our still great scientific and technical potential in that sphere for the production of equipment for light industry and the food industry. Of course, there are also great opportunities for the redistribution of imports in favor of the purchase of raw materials for light industry, with the aim, too, of purchasing consumer goods.

There is an attempt to frighten people about the market, to lay it on thick, and to spread it around that three per cent of the people own 80 per cent of all the wealth in the USSR, or the figure that there will be 20 or 40 million unemployed. But how can that be? Only just over 30 million are employed in the whole of our industry. So where does the figure of 40 million come from? Is industry supposed to disappear?

[Podlazov] Yes, that...

[Aganbegyan, interrupting] You understand? What will disappear, then? What? Will the health service be halved? Where will people go? You understand? All that... [changes thought] Or it is said that prices will rise by an order of magnitude. What does order of magnitude mean? Order of magnitude means tenfold. But why should they rise tenfold when the state is holding prices down very firmly?

[Podlazov] There now exists a sufficiently large number of sectors of the national economy where output is

stagnating, as it were. The actual sale is cheaper, less than cost price. There is the coal industry, oil, and so on and so forth. How, in market conditions, can they be stimulated, as it were, to produce more if it is unprofitable—trading at a loss, as they say—for them to do so?

[Aganbegyan] It has to be said that our wholesale fuel and raw material prices are kept very low. They are far lower than world prices, and they do not correspond with the prices of many manufactured items. That is one of the factors behind our adoption of a wasteful attitude towards fuel and raw materials. We do not economize sufficiently. So, in the reform of wholesale prices, when establishing new wholesale prices, it is envisaged to raise those prices by far more than the prices of manufactured items—on average, by somewhere between two and three times.

But the whole question is: How is that to be done without causing an inflationary wave through inertia?

[Podlazov] That is what you keep doing, but you put it off for a long time.

[Aganbegyan, interrupting] You know, in the first place—no, no one will put it off. No one will put it off. The USSR Council of Ministers has already drawn up a list of goods for which the prices are fixed. The level of new prices has been drafted, which I think should be agreed with the republics and the producers. They want such conversations again, naturally. They used to take place during the compiling of price lists. But one thing is clear. One thing is clear—that we should not have any loss-making sectors—as sectors, within a sector, yes, there may be loss-making enterprises that are working inefficiently. They need to be given a chance to survive. Stabilization funds are being set up for that purpose. Some think that, from 1 January, all loss-making enterprises will close down and 500,000 people will be thrown out on to the streets. Noting of the sort will happen. Special stabilization funds are being set up, which will give you temporary resources. You have to reorganize. You must mobilize. The market is a tough system. One cannot live at the expense of the state. One must understand what an unprofitable enterprise is if it is objectively unprofitable—meaning that it is unprofitable given the right prices.

It means you are taking money out of your own pocket. It means people are living at the expense of other people. Why? Is it so that everyone can be the poorer? Thus a loss-making enterprise does not have the right to exist for any length of time. It needs to be halted for a time, reorganized, merged with another enterprise, or its management changed. There are many other possibilities. It can be geared to produce different output, and so on. But that is a gradual process. There will be no drastic moves putting millions out of work, as some people think, nothing of the kind.

[Podlazov] In order for there really to be equal rights and free competition, don't you think we ought to equalize tax rates and so on for cooperatives and certain private

enterprises, joint-stock enterprises and state enterprises, so that they can complete on equal terms, so to speak?

[Aganbegyan] I think we will get there without fail, but with one exception. We must levy less tax from small business, small enterprises. This is what happens in all countries. There are certain allowances for small enterprises. We have now issued a government decision on small enterprises. It also gives them certain allowances. Incidentally, we have also set up a small-enterprise publishing house called Delo at our academy. Then there are certain spheres where there ought to be allowances. But we cannot do everything in one go. It is an ongoing process, you know.

[Podlazov] Another question—one of my last questions, perhaps the last. They say that business is above all honesty. As far as I know, taking the members of our cooperatives as an example—and naturally this does not apply to all of them, but to many—the main aim of these cooperatives of ours is simply basic profit. It is not to extend the production of goods, as intended, but simply to line their pockets. Are our present-day entrepreneurs psychologically prepared for normal market conditions?

[Aganbegyan] I think one cannot give an answer in a nutshell. That is because we have capable people, managers, who can work in the market. There are enterprises which are already operating in the market, including the world market. You may know that we have several hundred enterprises and associations abroad. They are headed by our Soviet people. And they are placed in a situation of tough competition with Western firms there, and they survive. We have banks. For instance, the Moscow Narodny bank in London is the eighth largest bank in Britain—I happen to know it well.

It is one of the prestigious banks in the center of London. Not that long ago it bought a large building where this bank is sited. At its head is Aleksandr Stepanovich Maslov, Soviet banker. I think that approximately seven Soviet people work there in managerial posts, and the bank competes with other banks, Japanese banks and all kinds of banks.

Of course, we have not lived in a market economy, in the broad sense. Anyway, life is the best teacher. After all, you cannot, as it were, learn to swim on the bank, not seeing the water. It is possible to explain what movements to make. You will prepare yourself a little. But only a real attempt at swimming in water will get you to learn. Similarly, you cannot drive a car if you do not get behind the wheel. Of course, this is the task of organizations such as ours, to teach the economic planner marketing. About 1,000 people will undergo additional training under our aegis in Western business schools during this academic year. Several hundred people will undergo work experience with foreign firms in a real market economy. But, nonetheless, the main teacher will be our own market economy.

[Podlazov] Our own market economy. Well, as I understand, as it were, from our conversation, you are optimistic about our future in the short-term.

[Aganbegyan] You know, it seems to me that there is a common interest in the republics, with regard to basic interests, amongst public movements—progressive ones, anyway—a common interest in getting out of crisis, a common interest in the stabilization of the economy, a common interest in the transition to a market economy and the creation of decent living conditions for people. Besides political and other ambitions there is, you know, a basic interest for the sake of which we are all really living.

In difficult conditions our people always pull together, despite all their variety, and they have always battled against misfortune. It seems to me that now people are beginning to become aware of their responsibility. The more profoundly we are aware of our responsibility before our future and before the people, the more important... [changes thought] the adoption of the basic directions is not even half of the business. It is much less. Our classics knew what they were talking about when they said that one practical step is more important than a dozen programs. But the adoption of these basic directions is important in that it has given hope. It is opening the way for practical actions. So now is the most important stage, the stage of action. It is finally time to switch from words to real actions. Then, it seems to me, all will be well.

[Podlazov] Thank you very much for the conversation, Abel Gezevich.

[Aganbegyan] Thanks to you.

[Podlazov] All the best.

Voronezh Transport Workers Strike for Benefits

PM2610091390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Oct 90 First Edition p 2

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent under the rubric "On The Spot": "Under Threat of Strike"]

[Text] Voronezh—The first cold day of the winter in Voronezh coincided with a strike by the city's electric-powered transport system. Not a single trolleybus or streetcar appeared on the streets. Thousands of the city's people froze in the icy winds that morning.

On this occasion the streetcar and trolley drivers were dictating their terms to the city authorities and their leaders. This is how A. Nekrasov, one of the strikers, explains them. He is 23 and has been a trolleybus driver for one year.

"We are seeking the right for men to retire at age 55 and women at age 50, a 60-percent raise in pay, increased housing provision, and improvements in catering at the terminals."

Sasha Nekrasov is currently receiving 220 rubles [R] "net," as he stressed, but wants R350. How the pay increase is to be financed does not worry him. They will find the money if they want to, he said confidently.

I made special mention of the young striker's age in order to stress the "relevance" of his demands regarding pension provision. Quite a few of the strikers are the same age as Nekrasov. At the trolley depot's red corner where they gathered to await the results of the talks, the atmosphere was very relaxed—there was noise, hubbub, laughter, and joking. No one remembered the thousands of city folk waiting for them on the street or thought of the losses the city had suffered. By their strike they were holding a gun to the city soviet executive committee's head and were waiting calmly.

The talks were still going on in the afternoon, and the city's electric-powered transport was still idle.

Deputy Starovoytova Comments on Political Events

91UN0171B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 43, Oct 90 p 2

[Report on interview with G. Starovoytova, USSR and RSFSR people's deputy; place and date not given: "Revolution of the 40-Year-Olds"]

[Text] Questions from our correspondent are answered by G. Starovoytova, USSR and RSFSR people's deputy.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] From a recent article in PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and in an article signed by V. Petrunya, many readers learned about the aspirations of democratic forces to physically destroy people with different ideas. As I understand it, you are suing the press organ and the author since your name is mentioned in the article.

[Starovoytova] Usually I do not consider it necessary to respond to slanderers. I do not have time. But here I am essentially being accused of a criminal act in the central organ of the ruling party.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] How do you feel about the thesis "Beat the Communists!"?

[Starovoytova] This subject—violence multiplied by anticommunism—is becoming a crucial one for our society. We have witnessed the sad experience of the countries of East Europe. In some of them they are trying to place the Communist Party outside the law; they are trying to persecute people for past membership in communist parties.

Amnesty International is overflowing with applications for help from former Communists. I hope that our country will not take this inhumane path. Communists and KGB workers will be living among us, there are millions of them, and they will not fly to Mars. We must find a new form of coexistence.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] What bothers and disturbs you, or, perhaps, gives you joy?

[Starovoytova] There are few reasons to be joyful now. I am bothered by the inadequate consolidation of the democratic forces against the background of the quietly developing coup d'état. And also the economic difficulties that are contributing to political instability.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] How do you feel about the possibility of a quick signing of the Union treaty?

[Starovoytova] The legislative opposition headed by A. Sakharov called for a new Union treaty more than a year ago. But everything is good in its time. I think it would be a tactical mistake to force this issue now. The focal point today is the economy. Political relations among the republics as sovereign states must develop later, on the basis of economic cooperation.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] If the representatives of the Union republics were to gather now to sign the Union treaty, who do you think we would see?

[Starovoytova] I do not think any of the Baltic states would be there and I have doubts about Moldova [Moldavia] and Georgia.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] In that case, would forced signing of the Union treaty be the end of the USSR?

[Starovoytova] Yes. Moreover, I do not know how the legislature of Azerbaijan would act, and Armenia has also set out a path toward further sovereignty. So if we were to sign the treaty today we would be forced to change the state borders of the USSR.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] What is the situation in Armenia?

[Starovoytova] I recently returned from there. You know, there is a storm all around, and in the middle of it is complete calm. That is how I would describe the situation in Armenia. Here we are frightened by the Armenian fighters, but there they have a relatively normal life and, unlike in Moscow, eggs are sold at the state price. The Armenian people are working normally and they trust their new leaders.

Karabakh, where draconian measures have been introduced, remains a destabilizing factor. Two Armenian people's deputies were arrested there recently without the sanction of the Supreme Soviet. It is no accident that they drove from Karabakh the deputies of the European Parliament who were interested in the human rights situation in this autonomous area.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] How do they feel about the 500 days program in Armenia?

[Starovoytova] They are cautiously scrutinizing and studying it.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] So the prospects for its adoption are uncertain?

[Starovoytova] Today the Union legislature has also rejected it without implementing a program of stabilization and being inclined to the government variant.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] How do you evaluate the actions of the Ukrainian students?

[Starovoytova] The students demanded the retirement of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers chairman and the disbanding of the present Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

The Ukrainian people can see better whether or not the legislature meets their demands. But the Ukraine is an immense country divided into at least four or five economic and historically cultural provinces or areas. Even the Western Ukraine, which is more radical, breaks down into two zones. One is oriented traditionally toward Poland and the other toward Austria-Hungary. Moreover, there is the Russian-speaking industrial East. Its center is also divided into two areas, not to mention the specific features of the Crimea. Therefore, if a referendum were held today in the Ukraine, its results would most likely differ in various parts of the republic.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Do you not think that the students' hunger strike is a kind of "insanity?"

[Starovoytova] I think that today this step is extreme and emotional. Perhaps the referendum will not produce a simple result. Moreover, the process of replacing the legislature requires more time than the human organism can stand to go without eating.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] How do you assess the fact that in many republics, or at least in Russia, the youth are fairly passive?

[Starovoytova] Yes, I can see that from my 20-year-old son who says "There is no point in ruining your health. Democracy will not win at this juncture in history...."

And in general our youth are alienated from politics. I think that the many years of pressure have had their effect on youth. In particular from the Ministry of Defense—students are not allowed to express different thinking. If they do the boys can be expelled from the higher educational institutions and drafted into the Army.

Moreover, the youth subculture is severed from adult culture today. For example, at a rally in February in Moscow there were no more than 200 students among the several hundreds of thousands of people.

At the same time all the "gentle" revolutions in the countries of East Europe and the bloody one in Romania had their social base among the students. In our country it is quite the opposite—it is a revolution of 40-year-olds.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Some people think that the interregional deputy group (MDG) has outlived its day....

[Starovoytova] I cannot agree with that. On the one hand, our Union mandates become outdated very quickly. The congress itself has become obsolete, and, perhaps, the MDG deputies have already performed their historical mission.

On the other hand, many deputies have taken on the burden of very serious responsibility. V. Logunov, M. Poltoranin, G. Popov, A. Sovchak, S. Stankevich, N. Fedorov, and A. Shchelkanov are all very busy people. We are barely managing to discuss our positions in detail. But recently such a level of mutual understanding has been reached among us that when going up to the podium all we have to do is exchange glances and we already know that the one who makes his way to the podium will speak for all of us. He will say what is needed.

And look at the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. With the exception of such important points and the parliamentary investigation of the activity of the KGB, the emission of monetary notes, and the expenditure of the gold reserve—it was our agenda that passed. Incidentally, when we go up to the podium, people listen to us. Frequently without wishing us well, but always attentively.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] In spite of the appearance of a large number of new parties, the country's course is apparently being determined by national movements.

[Starovoytova] They are indeed making their way into the foreground, but I do not think that these tendencies contradict one another.

From all appearances, certain parties will extend to several nationalities while others will stay within the borders of their own republics.

Gusev's Role in Democratic Platform Split Viewed

91UN0114A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 21 Oct 90 p 2

[Report by V. Yurlov: "Watch Out for Your Friends"]

[Text] Moscow—I will remind you of whom we are speaking. That same Georgiy Georgiyevich Gusev who was a founder of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU. That same person at whom so many critical barbs were directed following the 28th party congress that some leader of one of the latter-day public organizations, which are currently growing like mushrooms after rain, might hang himself from envy: Some people get everything, others, nothing.

Gusev is being criticized from all sides. Orthodox Communists have been kicking him in the ribs from the right side for destroying the Communist Party. Georgiy Georgiyevich is not being given time for his wounds to heal and to recover before being cuffed from the left. The reasons here are the direct opposite. He is being accused of a conspiracy with the official party authorities. Where is the poor democrat to go?

He went to the journalists. And at a meeting in the CPSU Central Committee Social and Political Center (this being the important-sounding name of two small rooms) plainly explained that without a mutual understanding with journalists there is absolutely nothing that a politician can do in the modern arena. They so twist and alter, allegedly, that not only sympathizers, but also friends and associates are turning their backs on the "collaborator" in anger and scorn.

Gusev cited as an example an article in which he appears as not much of a Hollywood hero, and does not even make the grade as a gallant secretary of a rayon party committee from the party television serial of the stagnation times. Truly, he appears in this article as a leader who quickly forgets yesterday's principles for the sake of whatever benefits are coming his way. What, however, is the true picture? And whence this ill repute?

According to his comrade, V. Lipitskiy, member of the Democratic Platform Communist Reformer Section Organizing Bureau, who was also at the meeting, it happened like this: In sending Gusev to the 28th CPSU Congress the Communist reformers were expecting that it would be only he, a person of irrepressible energy, who would manage to make his way to the microphone and convey their ideas to the delegates. Furthermore, they hoped that he would do this persuasively.

In general, their hopes were justified. Gusev made it to the microphone twice.

But at this same time the other wing of the Democratic Platform, far more radical, which was headed by V. Lysenko and V. Shostakovskiy, were insisting not on a reform of the party but on its division. The issue was put like this: The declaration on which Shostakovskiy was particularly insistent should be delivered on behalf of the whole Democratic Platform. Gusev then warned that were this to happen, he would be forced to make the "internal squabbles" the property of the whole congress. And he adduced as an argument the results of the voting at the conference of supporters of the Democratic Platform that had been held on the eve of the congress. He familiarized journalists with those documents. It is absolutely unequivocally clear from them that at that time the Democratic Platform was opposed to a split.

The arguments were to no avail. The reader will recall, possibly, the dramatic moment during the congress when Shostakovskiy declared that he was authorized to speak about a division of the CPSU and the need to form a new party. He spoke, naturally (and this was how it was all understood), on behalf of the whole platform. But there were at the congress 130 of its representatives.

Gusev kept his promise and handed the congress presidium the categorical note. And it is here that that for which he is being blamed happened. Were it a question of the workers movement, I would say that he is accused of strike-breaking.

So, having read the note, M.S. Gorbachev, presiding at the session of the congress, asked: "And where is Gusev?" He was at that moment sitting in the front row, ready, if not called upon to speak, to take possession of the microphone by any, even "unparliamentary," means.

Georgiy Georgiyevich made his speech. But it is not this, the somewhat blurred and not very precise wording (on account of an entirely understandable excitement), unfortunately, which he voiced at that time, that is the issue. But the fact that his former associates subsequently viewed this action as... conspiracy with the Central Committee leadership.

And no radical was willing to take account even of the fact that their statement in connection with disagreement with Shostakovskiy's position was distributed on behalf of 126 members of the Democratic Platform as an official document.

This is how it all was in reality.

Since that time Gusev's name has done the rounds of mass meetings and the "left" press in an entirely particular context.

At the meeting with the journalists, G. Gusev succeeded, in my view, in showing convincingly that the Communist reformers firmly adhere to the standpoints of the Democratic Platform formulated prior to the 28th CPSU Congress and confirmed by it at its conferences. He rejects all charges of "double-dealing," considering them as being contrived and as there being entirely understandable reasons for them: The constituent congress of the new party which, it is anticipated, will grow out of the detached wing of the Democratic Platform will be held quite soon, in November. Votes and sensation are needed.

A congress is an important business, of course. But what has this got to do with Gusev?

Moscow Communists on Perestroika's 'Serious' Ills

*PM3110131590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 31 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2*

[Report by I. Boltovskiy: "Meeting at Museum"]

[Text] Moscow—A ceremonial session marking the anniversary of Great October organized by the Moscow Communists Club has been held at the V.I. Lenin Museum. The speakers, Moscow State University Professors V.A. Vazyulin and R.I. Kosolapov; A. Lokshin, an American journalist who has emigrated from the United States; Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel General B.P. Ivanov; and others, spoke of the serious difficulties that perestroika is now experiencing.

The draft RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Constitution, which leaves only RFR of the republic's title, has caused particular concern among Communists, the speakers noted.

The Communists of the city party club stated that they are approaching the October holiday fully determined to uphold genuine democracy on the basis of social ownership and self-management by labor collectives. Communists are given confidence that they are right by the strengthening movement to create at enterprises workers committees and councils of working people elected from production districts. Freefloating sentiments are on the wane among working people who are beginning to understand increasingly well that they themselves, rather than the administrative and economic apparatus, must resolve ordinary people's problems with their own intelligence and by their own efforts.

Comparison of CPSU Secretariat 17 Oct Session PM1910084690

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 18 October 1990 carries in its Second Edition on page 2 a "PRAVDA-TASS"-attributed report on a CPSU Central Committee Secretariat session (date not specified). The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA article, entitled "Legal Protection for Law Personnel," has been compared with the Moscow TASS International Russian version published on pages 27-28 in the 18 October edition of the Soviet union DAILY REPORT under the headline "TASS reports CPSU Secretariat Session" revealing the following variations:

Page 27, column two, last paragraph, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA begins: [Text] in defining the.... (omitting TASS introductory paragraph)

Page 28, column one, third complete paragraph, only sentence, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reads: ...anticonstitutional decisions about departyization and to give.... (substituting "departyization" for "depoliticization")

Same page, column two, third complete paragraph, sentence four, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reads: ...be party members. Foreign experience and developments in some.... (picking up fifth sentence, adding elements)

Page 29, column two, paragraph two, only sentence, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reads: ...of cadre issues. It approved the resolutions of plenums of the relevant party committees on the election of A.N. Ilin, formerly first secretary of Pskov party obkom [oblast committee], as second secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Central Committee; G.P. Kharchenko, formerly first secretary of Zaporozhye Obkom, as second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; Ye.I. Turgunov, formerly deputy chairman of the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, as second secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee; R.R. Idiatullin, formerly secretary of Tatar CPSU Obkom, as first secretary of the Tatar Republic Party Committee; G.I. Pashkov, formerly second secretary of Kurgan party obkom, as first secretary of that obkom; and I.D. Boyko, formerly chairman of Ternopol Oblast People's Control Committee, as first secretary of Ternopol Ukrainian

Communist Party Obkom.... (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA ends, adding passage)

Correction to Kalugin Discussions on KGB Career WA0111124790

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Oleg Kalugin Discusses KGB Career," published in the 22 October Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 72:

Column two, fourth paragraph, sixth sentence should read: ...the blame for it is on me personally.... (deleting duplicate passage)

Economic

TRUD Reports on Trade Union Congress Proceedings

Shcherbakov Addresses Congress

914F0020B Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Oct 90
pp 2-3

[Report by V.I. Shcherbakov, chairman of the Commission for Preparation of the 19th USSR Trade Union Congress and deputy chairman of the AUCCTU, to 19th Trade Union Congress in Moscow on 23 October: "Toward a Cardinal Renewal of the Trade Union Movement"]

[Text] Comrade Delegates!

The 19th USSR Trade Union Congress has been convened at the demand of trade union organizations in accordance with a decision of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] Eighth Plenum two years ahead of the specified time, and is essentially of an extraordinary nature.

The country has switched to the decisive stage of perestroika. Transition to the market economy is beginning, which is completely changing the sphere of labor relations, in which the labor unions are to be a key component. The state is changing from a unitary to federal state. The republics are becoming truly sovereign states, and the sovereignty of the autonomous entities is growing. Beyond this is the complete independence of the trade union associations of the Union republics, a new role of the sectoral unions, and a new status of the trade union organizations in the autonomous formations.

Multiparty conditions, the pluralism of the workers movement, and the formation of new trade union centers have changed the political space of society, which necessitates us looking anew at the place and role in it of our trade unions. All these transformations are occurring against the background of a profound economic crisis and a sharp decline in people's living standard.

The course of our country's historical development and life itself have led to the need for the early convening of the 19th Trade Union Congress, a congress which has to draw a line beneath a whole era of the activity of the

unions and formulate a new concept of the cardinal renewal of the country's trade union movement.

In order to move forward we need to understand clearly from what we are departing and what kind of path we have trodden in 70-plus years.

Trade unions in our country were born prior to the revolution, under the conditions of capitalist production. They struggled resolutely for a better life for the working man in the years of the civil war, the postwar devastation, and the New Economic Policy.

A keen debate took place in the country about the trade unions at the start of the 1920's. Despite the fact that the correct view of the unions as defenders of the interests of the working people prevailed, a policy of the state-ization of the unions was pursued in Stalin's reality. Over the decades they increasingly became a public and state organization built into the administrative command system. They increasingly demonstrated their readiness to "appreciate" the position of the management executives of a sector, enterprise, and so forth and share the difficulties of the administrators, and frequently their mismanagement and inactivity. The lack of conflict and the unanimity between a trade union body and its economic partner and the coalescence of their interests and aims became customary, and the conviction grew in the working people that the director was secretly directing the work of the trade union committee.

Performing the role of "drive belt," the unions assumed a multitude of concerns—from the organization of competition and the introduction of financial autonomy through sharing of the shortages—and dissipated their forces and possibilities. The system essentially distanced the unions from protective functions. And it was with good reason that critics say that the AUCCTU has been nothing other than a "People's Commissariat of Labor" or "Ministry for Working People."

There is no point looking for the reasons for such a position in the activity of this person or the other who headed the trade union movement at various stages. In the form of government that existed, the unions simply could not have been otherwise.

However, even the restructuring period has for the unions largely been a time of missed opportunities. It has to be acknowledged that the 18th Trade Union Congress was unable to formulate the strategy and tactics of trade union struggle in keeping with the challenge of the times. The trade union movement increasingly lagged behind the profound changes and poignant and complex changes in real life, which could not have failed to have evoked a crisis of confidence in its structures among the working people, primarily among the working class. All this became as clear as could be in the course of mass strikes, of the miners particularly.

While supporting the critical mood of the masses and attuned in earnest to a fundamental change in the entire

activity of the unions, we must at the same time emphatically take issue with those who are inclined to altogether cancel out what has been done by the trade unions. Despite all the difficulties, the unions have their conquests. We do not have the right to erase the many years of labor of thousands and thousands of honest trade union workers.

Our congress is called upon to formulate a new concept of the trade union movement in keeping with the spirit of the times and people's needs and to determine the paths of a cardinal renewal of the unions.

It is for this reason that the commission for preparing the congress endeavored to create all the conditions to ensure that its draft decisions and documents were prepared with the participation of representatives of the trade union organizations and delegates, not only the apparatus.

An essential contribution to the preparation of the 19th congress was made by the congresses of the sectoral unions and republic trade union associations, which examined and approved, in the main, the draft documents of the congress.

The commission was fully aware that the 19th congress must be a congress of the unification of Soviet trade unions on a new democratic foundation. Thus the collective work of many people who take our common cause keenly to heart is submitted for your examination.

Trade Unions and the Market

Comrades!

We have all of late been living in expectation of the crucial choice which had to be made to stabilize the situation in the economy and switch to market relations.

The proclaimed goal—the creation of a socially oriented economy, that is, turning all production toward the requirements of the consumer, overcoming the shortages and shameful lines, and ensuring the economic freedom of the citizens in practice—cannot fail to have our support.

At the same time it is abundantly clear that this will be a difficult and painful process, in the initial phase particularly. It should not be thought that the market is a magic carpet. It is a stern system which will require of everyone the maximum input, discipline, and responsibility.

The guidelines proposed by the president reflect many of the trade unions' positions on the social protection of the population.

At the same time there are a number of serious problems in respect of which the congress must formulate a precise position.

The guidelines determine merely conceptual measures of people's social protection. The unions, however, will

have to struggle for their actual realization at the level of the country as a whole, in the republics, and at the enterprises.

It will be necessary primarily to proceed from who owns the bulk of the enterprises and organizations and from which form of ownership at the present transitional stage will be predominant.

Delegates to the congress know full well about real life and the mood and aspirations of the working people. We have to formulate the unions' positions on these issues together, taking account of current realities. They are as follows. State ownership leads to lack of personal responsibility and the monopolization of production and the low efficiency of the economy. We should therefore acknowledge the objective necessity of a diversity of forms of ownership.

Denationalization should evidently begin with the small and medium-sized enterprises of light and food industry, trade, public catering, consumer service, and construction materials industry, which would make it possible to saturate the market with goods and chargeable services more quickly.

At the same time the limits of denationalization and privatization should be clearly defined. Is it necessary to sell the Likhachev Auto Works or the Urals Heavy Engineering Plant into private hands? Which is, after all, more efficient—denationalization or privatization?

To collate the opinions of the working people and their proposals and demands on questions of ownership, the trade unions should advocate that the sale of state-owned enterprises to private persons and also the unrestricted sale of their stock be effected only in the event of the work force declining such forms of denationalization as leasing, transfer to full operational management, and redemption into collective ownership. We must declare also that the unions deem it necessary to take part in the commissions pertaining to a change in the forms of ownership at all levels. In the work force primarily, of course. This is a practicable way of defending the interests of the working masses at large.

The labor market, where the unions must represent the interests of wage workers on such fundamental issues as employment and the price of manpower, will be the principal sphere their activity.

From six million to 15 million persons, by various estimates, could lose their jobs in the immediate future under the conditions of the structural reorganization of the economy, the elimination of unprofitable enterprises, and conversion.

As you know, the Supreme Soviet is currently considering the draft Principles of Employment Legislation. On a number of fundamental positions in this there are two versions—ours and the government's.

What is the basic difference of the approaches?

Realization of the government draft could cost 5-6 billion rubles [R] next year, our draft, R12-15 billion. This is, of course, a serious argument against our proposals. But decisive? It is possible to economize as much as one pleases, but not to the misfortune of people, in which they will find themselves through no fault or desire of their own.

It ensues from the government's proposals that the amount of the benefit will constitute on average R70-80, R100 at most. The unions believe that a special scale of payments should be introduced.

A payment in the first four months of 70 percent of the average wage at the last place of employment, in the next four months, 60 percent, and for a further four months, 40 percent. According to rough calculations, this means that the benefit would be approximately twice as much, but should be confined to the level of the average wage by region.

Another difference is in the timeframe of payment of the benefit. The government proposes supporting the unemployed merely for six months as of the day they register, and persons of retirement age, for nine months. What, one wonders, about a person who has been unable to find work in this time? Overseas experience testifies that structural changes in the economy could take a long time, and new jobs cannot be created in a short period. This is why the unions propose that benefit be paid as of the moment a citizen registers as unemployed right until the question of his employment has been resolved. But, considering the country's serious economic situation, limiting this time to 12 months. And paying persons of preretirement age benefits for two years.

One of our demands is the closure of enterprises only with the consent of the trade unions in order that the working people know about this in good time and have the opportunity and time to be retrained and find a new job.

We hope that the trade union congress will support this formulation of the issue.

Problems of employment are directly connected with the conversion of defense enterprises which is underway in the country. This program is being realized with difficulty. It is sufficient to say that only this August, that is, two years since the start of the realization of conversion measures, did the government, under pressure from the union of the defense sectors, adopt the ordinance "Social Protection of the Working People Upon the Conversion of Defense Industry." The ordinance was adopted, but, from the viewpoint of the unions, the measures stipulated in it do not correspond to the seriousness of the situation.

At the majority of enterprises, and there are in the country approximately 500 of them, the cutback in the production of costly military equipment without the equivalent transition to the manufacture of peaceful products has led to a sharp reduction in the workers' wages. The unproductive use of the potential of the

sectors where technology "easily" corresponded to the world standard, and in a number of areas surpassed it, is in evidence.

Proceeding from the direct connection of the implementation of the conversion program with the fate of millions of working people, it is proposed that the unions' main demands in this sphere be discussed and presented.

The central problem confronting the unions in connection with the struggle for the workers' interests on the labor market is the price of manpower.

Our state has for a long time determined in directive fashion the price of manpower and established the norms—how much to leave the workman and how much to take away. With us the workman is paid less than half the value of what he has produced. The cost of manpower is not in practice linked with the laboriousness of the work performed. For example, a woman working in light industry manufacturing a man's shirt receives 45 kopeks, for a suit, R2. What can be said about such a valuation of labor compared with the price of the commodity? There is no word other than exploitation. And all this given truncated leave, a 41-hour work week, and millions of hours overtime.

Manpower is frequently reproduced at the expense of the wear and tear of the organism of the workman himself. It is not fortuitous that average life expectancy in our country is four to seven years less than in other European countries.

The trade unions are obliged to struggle to ensure that the system of pay in the country remove from the agenda for all time the question of such exploitation of labor.

The principles of formation of the wage today are not geared to the fact that it will be necessary to purchase housing, food, and merchandise at market prices and pay for health care, education, and other of life's benefits which earlier were financed by the state from the working people's money.

It should now be a question of an increase in wages such that the workman might withstand the blow to his budget on the part of market prices and tax policy.

Directly connected with this is the question of the indexation of individuals' income. The AUCCTU has drawn up and presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet the draft of such a law.

Its basic import is to the effect that all citizens, regardless of the amount of their income, be guaranteed full compensation for the growth of prices beneath the insufficiency level.

The question arises: Where is the money for compensation to come from? We believe that for the employees of budget-financed organizations this money should come from the Union, republic, and local budgets respectively. And at enterprises and organizations, from the proprietor.

Individuals' deposits in savings banks, which will depreciate, should be indexed, including through an increase in bank interest. The unions cannot allow a person who has his whole life set aside his earned ruble for a cooperative apartment, summer house, or automobile, or simply for a "rainy day," to lose his savings.

The unions are faced with the large-scale task of protection of the interests of working people who are badly off. The numbers of the population with an income below the subsistence minimum are not diminishing but, on the contrary, increasing. At the present time, according to AUCCTU figures, this means 70-80 million persons, one-fourth of the country's population, and approximately 25 percent of these are workers, employees, and collective farm members, and more than one-third are retirees and invalids.

It is important that a system of social protection of this category of the population not be confined merely to income indexation but also provide for effective measures pertaining to social support for persons of advanced years: for the able-bodied, the opportunity to work, for those unfit for work, extra cash payments, subsidies for the acquisition of individual types of food and nonfood commodities, allowances at the time of the purchase of medication and in the payment for housing and utilities, and other types of social assistance.

The problem of the social protection of invalids is particularly acute. The legislation according to which jobs should be secured for them at the enterprises is essentially not working. The very procedure of determination of invalid status has been taken to the absurd—those missing legs and arms are summoned for examination annually. The entire social buildup of society, roads, elevators, entrances, floors, and flights of stairs, has been designed as if there do not exist on our earth people who have lost their sight, hearing, and mobility and who have been deprived of good health. The unions are tremendously in arrears to invalids. It needs to be said plainly that the AUCCTU, the Central Committee, and the trade union councils have been unable to formulate a serious policy in this field and have confined themselves to half-measures.

Principles of Legislation on the Social Protection of Invalids have now been prepared. The AUCCTU and other trade union bodies participated directly in their formulation and are obliged to seek the speediest adoption and implementation of these legislative instruments, which will affect the interests of 35-40 million persons.

Comrades!

Under the conditions of the market the race for profits and the existence of a manpower reserve will, particularly at first, relegate to the background employers' concern for the producer himself, the conditions and protection of his labor, and the social development of the work force.

After all, more than 6 million people are still working under most severe conditions. There has as of 1982 come to be a diminution in investments in safety equipment. And there has in this same period been a constant growth in the number of accidents on the job. The unions have overlooked this and been unable to halt this process.

A draft labor safety law has been prepared, and it needs to be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet for consideration as quickly as possible. It is proposed establishing the priority of economic incentives in an improvement in labor safety and the strict material liability of officials for its unsatisfactory state and for accidents. Those who have sustained injuries on the job must be fully compensated for the damage caused in the amount of average earnings, and the families of deceased persons, for the length of time remaining until they reached retirement age. Current legislation, as a consequence of which the comrades of the deceased, "passing round the hat," help the orphaned family far more than the state, is demeaning for our society.

The state should immediately ratify the International Labor Organization convention "The Safety and Hygiene of Work and the Production Sphere" determining the state's functions pertaining to people's protection on the job.

The unions' entire policy in the labor safety sphere will change under the new conditions. This will require on the basis of the technical labor inspectorates and our research institutes of the corresponding profile the creation of an all-Union trade union service for the independent expert evaluation of the state of work conditions. We should emphatically avoid sharing responsibility for the state of affairs in this sphere with the employers.

The state of the production environment is an inalienable part of the global ecological problem. It is sufficient to recall that in 102 cities of the USSR with a population of 50 million persons the concentration of harmful substances is frequently 10 and more times in excess of the permissible norms. In 85 cities the ecological situation has been recognized as particularly complex.

People are expressing justified anger at the policy which has led to such a situation and at the inactivity of the authorities, and do not trust the official figures that are published. An unhealthy environment strikes primarily at the working people, worker neighborhoods, and worker communities.

Our task, therefore, is:

First, to strive for the creation of an all-Union state system of the improvement and monitoring of the environment and regular briefing of the population.

Second, to begin objective, ecological, expert appraisal from trade union resources or to participate in the financing of such programs.

The Union trade union center is called upon to unite the efforts of all sectoral unions and the trade union centers of the Union republics in rendering working the utmost assistance to people of the cities and villages which have found themselves in a zone of natural and ecological disasters. Specifically, in the areas of Armenia, East Kazakhstan, and Tajikistan, which have suffered from earthquakes, the population of the ecological disaster zones of Aral, the South Urals, and Semipalatinsk, and the refugee families from various regions of the country.

Special mention needs to be made of the consequences of the Chernobyl tragedy. It is a question of the people living in these zones, the recuperation of their children, and the fate of the people who tackled the accident, performing their civic duty and losing their health.

The movement of people from the areas of strong radiation is proceeding unsatisfactorily and extremely slowly. For this reason the proposal is put to the congress that the unions assume the functions of public monitoring of the course of realization of the official Chernobyl program and systematically notify the population about the progress of this work. In the event of an unsatisfactory state of affairs, tell the people the names of the persons to blame and seek their resignation and the institution of proceedings against them. The categorical nature of the demands need not be feared here.

We understand also that neither can the unions remain aloof from the problems born of Chernobyl. Almost 300,000 women and children and more than 200,000 children and adolescents from the affected areas convalesce annually with the participation of the AUCCTU and the unions of Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia with the fraternal assistance of the unions of other Union republics. The unions could, as a whole, head this work on the basis of a pooling of their efforts with the possibilities of the state. For this it will be necessary:

To undertake as quickly as possible the construction in clean areas of the European part of the country of no less than 300 year-round sanatorium-type convalescent establishments for the recuperation of children of all ages with organization of the educational process;

To transfer to the unions some of the departmental hospitals of the systems of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Union republic Councils of Ministers, and of the former Fourth Main Administration, or passes to them;

To require the ministries, departments, and enterprises to allocate to the unions for persons from the Chernobyl zone no less than 10 percent of sanatorium passes to hospitals under their jurisdiction;

For the USSR Ministry of Health and the Academy of Sciences to quickly provide for the elaboration of a scientifically substantiated system of the recuperation of casualties of the accident.

Comrades!

There has been a pronounced exacerbation in recent years of questions connected with medical services and a strengthening of the health of the working people.

The health care authorities will increasingly drastically adopt a policy of the financing of medical establishments according to the insurance medicine principle. It is calculated that the transition to a system of medical insurance will make it possible to raise the financing of health care to the necessary level. The state system of health care will be preserved, as a basis. Some 50-55 percent of resources will be allocated by the state budget here, the remainder, from the enterprises for medical insurance for their employees.

At the same time it is noticeable even now that expenditure on medical services is to an increasingly great extent being transferred to the working people themselves and to the work force. As a result the medical-public health units are being eliminated, the work of the medical-engineering teams is coming to a halt, shop services are being wound down, and the accessibility and quality of medical assistance are declining at many enterprises.

The unions cannot, evidently, support such an approach. We agree that additional sources of the financing of health care are needed. But this by no means signifies that the main such source should be the pockets of the worker, peasant, and employee themselves. But it is to this that the USSR Ministry of Health's hasty introduction of various commercial forms of medical service is meanwhile leading.

There is an urgent need for the adoption of Principles of Legislation on Safeguarding the Health of the People.

A big debate developed at the congresses and conferences which have been held and in the trade union organizations on the question of the administration of social insurance. Some people propose that these resources be given to the state altogether and that they be divided up by sectoral trade union or republic trade union association.

You have material which sets forth detailed information on the development of social insurance in our country in recent years. It should be said plainly that what has been achieved cannot satisfy us.

Under conditions where the social insurance budget has been an integral part of the country's state budget, when the extent of the insurance contributions covered only 50-70 percent of our expenditure, and the rest was financed from Union budget subsidies, the unions were essentially deprived of the opportunity of really administering social insurance, and all matters of principle had to be agreed with the state authorities. Billions in social insurance resources, which had taken shape as a result of economies in the reduction in morbidity, disappeared into the state budget with the tacit consent of the AUCCTU and other trade union authorities.

Resources intended for strengthening the health of the working people disappeared, although the trade union hospitals have increasingly been on the decline, and there has been systematic nonfulfillment of the plans for their construction and modernization.

As of the start of the 12th Five-Year Plan there has been a shortfall compared with the plan targets in the commissioning of units with almost 16,000 beds. More than 50 resort "long jobs" have been under construction for five to 10 years and more, and 40 facilities have been temporarily frozen altogether. As a result a trend toward a reduction in the working people's provision with passes for sanatorium-resort treatment and recreation has emerged. The cost of the meals in our hospitals and their provision with equipment has been considerably lower than in the departmental hospitals, of the Fourth Administration particularly. The money, although there has been an acute shortage of it, has gone on the convalescence of children, students, labor veterans, and invalids.

Upon transition to the market, there will be a considerable increase in expenditure on the running of the hospitals. The average cost of a sanatorium pass could increase by a factor of 2.5 to three. This is an objective reality, and the question evidently needs to be put such that the compensation, from trade union resources included, constitute not less than 70 percent of the cost of the pass.

There is an urgent need for a cardinal change in the administration of social insurance. In accordance with the agreement reached between the USSR Government and the AUCCTU, it is proposed, instead of the state social insurance budget, creating two funds—the USSR Pension Fund and the USSR Social Insurance Fund. The first would be administered by the state authorities, the second, by the trade unions, which would acquire the right to dispose of these resources and use them for the solution of acute social problems.

With regard for this the AUCCTU raised as of 1 September of the current year the dietary norms in trade union hospitals to the level of the best departmental establishments. Expenditure to this end in the sanatoriums and preventive clinics was increased. It is planned channeling an additional R800 million plus into the Chernobyl program, R200 million into the financing of children's and adolescents' sports schools, and so forth.

However, realization of the adopted decision is at the present time in jeopardy.

The USSR president's edict of 4 October 1990 sets the rate of insurance contributions for the coming year at 26 percent of the wage fund instead of the 37 percent envisaged by the USSR Supreme Soviet decree. As a result the income of the social insurance fund will, unless the rate of its formation is increased, diminish by one-third and will not cover the financing of the most acute social insurance programs.

Proposals concerning the transfer of all of social insurance to the state are being actively advanced simultaneously by the USSR Council of Ministers, other state authorities, and a number of trade union organizations.

This problem needs to be studied in detail. In the future, possibly, the decision to transfer social insurance to the state will be legitimate. But now, in this acute, transitional period, when the market has not taken shape and the principles of the formation of insurance medicine and medical service of the working people have not been defined, this would mean merely one thing—the destruction of the evolved system and a blow to the interests of millions of people, youth and children. And, what is more, a blow primarily at the neediest strata of the population.

You will recall that something similar occurred when we agreed with the transfer to the state of all work pertaining to the sending of working people on overseas trips on a commercial basis. Who benefited from this? Workers and employees with R200 wages, the students? Of course not. Therefore, the AUCCTU believes, many sectoral unions and regional trade union bodies cannot now agree with the transfer of the social insurance fund to the state. It is important to formulate the opinion of the USSR Trade Union Congress in this connection also.

Problems connected with an improvement in the position in society of women and the youth require the unions' particular attention.

The market economy will most likely have a negative effect on the position of women and families with children. The unions are obliged to ensure protection of women's right to labor and their withdrawal from heavy and harmful operations and from night shifts, and at the same time to seek an improvement in the conditions for raising children. An important goal is an increase in maternity leave for women of up to four months. It is perfectly obvious that their labor in this period is in practice ineffective, while the losses to the health of the nation are tremendous.

The Union's proposals on these questions have been taken into consideration in a number of decrees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers. The task of the country's trade union center and all trade union organizations is to seek to ensure that these decisions be realized and assist working women and working mothers.

The unsolved nature of economic, spiritual, and legal problems of the youth are causing the development of its social apathy. Only one-third of young people polled believes that their lives have changed in any respect for the better in the course of perestroika.

The wages of young workers last year constituted R120-R140, which is lower by a factor of 1.5 than the average wage for the country.

More than 6 million working young people live in squalid hostels and a further 2 million rent private apartments or rooms. For many young families the birth of a child proves a financial catastrophe.

It would be expedient on behalf of the congress to propose that the USSR Supreme Soviet embark as quickly as possible on the elaboration and realization of a program of an official youth policy and adopt a set of protective measures guaranteeing protection of the interests of the young people and children under market conditions.

The seriousness and unresolved nature of our social problems are particularly visible in the countryside. Traumatic injury in branches of the agro-industrial complex is 1.3 times higher than the average indicators for the country.

We have all somehow become inured to the fact that the countryside lags hopelessly behind the city and we take its lack of social development as something natural. The countryside is in many regions literally withering away before our eyes from the population drain. Of the 98 million rural inhabitants, approximately one-third are not fit for work.

Unsatisfied demand of the country's population for foodstuffs has reached R50 billion. This is equal to one-third of the food produced in the country. We have recently become increasingly drawn into dependence on imported food—one-sixth of these commodities comes from overseas.

It is essential to self-critically recognize that the AUCCTU has dealt inadequately with problems of the rural workers. In addition, since the 28th congress, as a result of certain structural changes, not only the AUCCTU but also the trade union councils in the oblasts and republics have essentially abandoned their coordinating role on matters of assistance to the countryside.

We need to rectify this neglect, having determined more precisely the strategy of struggle and the directions of the work of the trade unions under the new management conditions. The unions are required to display concern for the defense of the economic and social interests of the rural workers, seeking equivalent exchange between town and country and a revival of villages formerly declared to be without prospects.

It is proposed on behalf of the USSR Trade Union Congress to support the position of the congress of the Agro-Industrial Complex Workers Union, which advocated the equality of all forms of management on the land. It is necessary to avoid here both forced decollectivization and the diktat of administrative pressure on tenants and peasant farms. We need to create conditions such that each rural worker might obtain the right of choice and himself decide how he will work and live.

Comrades! The transition to the market economy poses with particular seriousness the problem of an increase in

the level of social protection of people working in education, science, and culture. We can under no circumstances permit a lowering of the intellectual potential of society and a scattering of intellectual forces, otherwise this will have unpredictable consequences for the future of the whole country. The "brain drain" process, which has begun, currently points to the obviousness of such a danger.

The qualitative level of the workmen will depend on the general state of education, science, and culture in the country, which will be reflected directly in the price of manpower. The unions have always concerned themselves with problems of the spiritual and physical development of the working people and members of their families. Even greater significance is attached to this work now. Essentially we must help the workman hold his own in the competition on the labor market.

The race for profits at any price is even now undermining enterprises' interest in normal social and cultural development. Workmen's clubs, libraries, sports grounds, and pioneer camps are in many places being closed or switched to other purposes. Commerce is supplanting free study groups, committees, and studios. Naturally, this is hitting first and foremost the interests of the young people, retirees, and large and needy families. Unfortunately, there are many factors where trade union authorities also have a hand in so damaging a process.

Expenditure on culture and sport occupies a large proportion of the trade union budget. This is clearly expenditure which is important to and necessary for people. But it is incomprehensible why the state and the local authorities are moving away from financial support for popular physical culture and amenities for the masses organized in the work force and in workmen's clubs and sports halls. Are they outside of the state?

At many meetings, conferences, and congresses trade union officials are rightly raising the matter of the state displaying greater interest in the spiritual and financial development of the working man. Trade union cultural and sports centers should be freed from stifling taxes. Can it be right that resources from the trade union budget—resources from the working people's wages—already taxed once, are taxed once again merely for going toward noble, humane goals: people's spiritual and physical development.

There is every reason to confront the Union and republic governments and the local soviets with demands concerning the involvement of their resources in the development of general physical culture and amenities for the masses in the work force in order that they may supplement and, subsequently, wholly replace the expenditure of the trade union budget here.

But the unions themselves also—in their own industry—must increase their efforts in the practical improvement of the social and cultural sphere. It is a question of direct participation in their development of their own network

of hospitals and tourism, culture and sport, and children's recreation establishments, and of broad access to all their services for all members of the unions, children, and adolescents. All this should be a major area of the social policy of the USSR trade unions, including our contribution to the creation of additional jobs and the program of employment of the population.

It is perfectly obvious that the labor market will require the creation of a housing market.

The program of transition to the market presupposes the abandonment of the system of state provision of the public with housing and its transfer to the category of a commodity with all the ensuing consequences.

Given this formulation of the issue, the burdens of the transitional period will be borne essentially by the tenants, and the 14 million people who have spent many years on the lists of those wishing to improve their housing conditions and who have earned both the moral and material right to this will be deprived of assurances of their obtaining an apartment free of charge. Such approaches are not right.

The unions' demands should amount to capital investments in housing construction, in the next five years at least, not only not declining but increasing even thanks to the market mechanisms. Together with this the necessary conditions should be created for individual citizens and enterprises that wish to resolve their apartment problem independently. It would be the right thing to allocate land to those wishing to engage in individual development, in accordance with particular quotas free of charge. A preferential system of the extension of credit and interest-free loans should be established for young people, needy and large families, and other categories of citizens in acute need.

And, finally, the most important point in this problem is connected with the cost of housing and utilities. The transfer of housing to self-financing means that it is now proposed to take from the pockets of the tenants the R11 billion which the state annually spends in subsidies for the upkeep of housing. If it is considered that public utilities will switch to self-financing also, actual rent will increase by a factor of five to eight and will prove "beyond" tens of millions of citizens with a per capita income of less than R150 a month.

In order to find a way out of such a situation it is essential to index people's expenditure on housing and to pay them the corresponding compensation, in other words to incorporate these outlays in that same "consumer basket" which provides for a normal subsistence level or through an increase in the level of wages. Let us thoroughly discuss this proposal as a basic demand of the trade unions in the sphere of protection of the working people's housing rights.

Comrades! Under market relations the unions will be faced with a stubborn struggle for people's social safeguards at the level of the enterprise, the region, the

republic, and the country as a whole. Without strong unions it will be impossible under market economy conditions to achieve a rational balance of the interests of the employers and wage workers.

Yes, in the past the unions had to solicit rights, frequently waiving scrupulousness and sharing responsibility with the state for sins and for miscalculations which were not their own.

The whole legal space of society is now changing. And the pressure on the most populous protective public organization and the attempts to silence the unions and put them in their place are absolutely incomprehensible!

At congresses and conferences and at meetings the working people are raising one and the same question: "Why is such an attack on the trade unions underway? Why are even the rights they gained in previous years being taken away from them?"

People are saying: "Who benefited from excluding even a mention of the trade unions from the Enterprise Act and depriving the unions of the right to collective bargaining? Where, if not at the enterprise, can and should the unions operate?" People do not understand why the Public Associations Act puts the unions on virtually the same footing as special-interest clubs.

We are moving toward the market, where the worker will be left face to face with the boss, the entrepreneur, the employer. Who other than the unions can seriously, professionally, and competently fight for a fitting price of manpower?

Of course, this can be done not by helpless unions without rights but strong, empowered professional organizations.

The West's unions acquired such powers as the result of more than a century of strike and stoppage struggle for their rights. Do we have to negotiate this route also?

No, the working people will not wait 100 years. Our people are now largely different from what they were five to 10 years ago.

The powerful wave of the worker and strike movement points to just one thing: The worker no longer cares to be a cog without rights. Strike and stoppage committees are being formed and are operating precisely because the current professional organizations lack any real rights to protect the individual. For this reason the working people will not wait for their rights but will take them themselves!

This is a path of struggle, on which violence and destruction disastrous for the country are inevitable. We propose a path of civilized relations in the labor sphere. Entrepreneur—state—unions representing the workman. In order for this triple system to work for the good of society all its components must have equally strong and adequate rights.

It is to this that the draft Law on the Rights of Trade Unions looking out for the working man's most urgent problems is devoted.

As you know, it was presented to the Supreme Soviet and has now been forwarded for additional work to its commissions and committees. The press has reported on the situation in connection with this law. But it is clear even now that we are faced with a very serious and difficult struggle for trade union rights. Until legislation governing the unions' rights is enacted, they will be forced to submit to the Public Associations Act, in accordance with which the unions are placed under the strict supervision of the state and are required to register and render account for each step of their actions. Such unions will not protect the working people. Consequently, we cannot give way in the struggle for our rights.

The transition to the new forms of economic life will require the enactment as quickly as possible of fundamentally new labor legislation.

It is important here not only to preserve the current safeguards but to increase the individual's legal and social protection, at whatever kind of enterprise he works—state-owned, joint-stock, cooperative, or private.

The AUCCTU Eighth Plenum recommended that the trade union authorities increase legal assistance to the working people and create a specialized service—a trade union bar association—for this purpose.

World practice shows that the unions' relations with employers and the authorities may be built most effectively by way of a system of agreements. From the collective contract at the enterprise, which should represent essentially an instrument enshrining the conditions of the sale of manpower, through agreements at the levels of oblasts, krays, republics, sectors, and the country as a whole. The unions and the country's trade union center should actively insist on the speediest consideration and enactment by the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Law on Collective Bargaining and Agreements drawn up by the AUCCTU with the participation of the trade union councils and committees.

I would like in this connection to dwell also on our relations with the government of the country. It may be observed today with every justification that the unions, expressing the mood of the working masses at large, are a constructive opponent of the government. And this is an entirely normal phenomenon. This is the case in many civilized countries.

We believe that the relations of the government and the trade union center should be built on the basis of annual master agreements between them enshrining the basic social safeguards for the working people at the minimum level, including pay conditions, length of the work week, the amount of annual leave, and others.

The first meetings of a number of leaders of the trade unions with USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the country's government headed by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov are reason to believe in the constructiveness and usefulness of the dialogue that has begun.

It is appropriate to say in this connection that the voice of USSR people's deputies from the unions should be heard more impressively in the highest organ of state power also. The trade union masses have serious and justified complaints about their work. Many proposals were received at the congresses and conferences pertaining to the replacement of our corps of deputies and the recall of those who have proven incapable of serious work, who lack the requisite qualities for this, and who are not defending the interests of the working people and the demands of their unions from positions of principle.

The experience of the working people's struggle for their rights points to the need for collective actions. This task has as of late also confronted the Soviet Union in earnest.

It is difficult to fight in isolation. The results of fulfillment of Ordinance No. 608 on problems of the miners would most likely have been better today if the miners' reasonable demands had the authoritative support of the AUCCTU, it having united for collective actions the unions of other sectors.

We recall the Murmansk interregional trade union conference on socioeconomic problems of the North, which was conducted on the initiative of the Murmansk Oblast Trade Union Council and the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia. They were able on this basis to prepare a package of balanced, realistic demands and to present them for consideration by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, which is having to take stock of the fact that they are on the negotiating table at the wishes of the working masses at large.

Not one government decision on social questions is adopted in Kazakhstan currently without the participation of the unions. Despite the existence of alternative proposals, the "trade union versions" are getting passed increasingly often. At the unions' insistence capital investments in the development of the social sphere were increased in the present year by R300 million.

By the coordinated actions of the public education, science and culture workers', and medical workers' unions, the date of introduction of the new pay conditions for the people working in these sectors was brought forward from 1992-1994 to 1 January 1991.

As we can see, collective actions and worker solidarity in the struggle for the working people's legitimate rights and interests is a powerful weapon in the unions' hands.

Each trade union body has to master the art of collective struggle. It is necessary to struggle aggressively and uncompromisingly for its rights and for the working people's interests.

New Principles of the Organization and Activity of the Unions

Under the conditions of cardinal economic reform, the fundamental modernization of society's political system, and the renewal of the country's form of government, fundamental significance is attached to questions of the organizational composition of the unions.

What are the initial positions here?

First, primarily the conversion of the primary trade union organizations into the genuine basis of the trade union movement, and assurance of their complete independence and their priority throughout the trade union system.

It is essential to fundamentally change the very approach to the question of the rights of the primary organization. Not to endow them immoderately but to determine once and for all that the primary trade union organization may make independent use of all the rights accorded the unions by the USSR Constitution and Soviet legislation.

No one must decide for the primary organization which trade union it should join, of what form of association with other trade union organizations it should avail itself, what kind of internal structure to prefer, and to which superior trade union body to delegate its representatives and some of its resources and authority.

It is essential to free the primary organization from the pressure of management and so-called leadership on the part of the local party and other bodies.

The unions are themselves required to undertake the defense of the trade union committees and elective activists and provide them with social safeguards, to which particular seriousness will be attached under the conditions of the market economy and various forms of ownership.

It is necessary to thoroughly study the focus of the primary organization's activity in the cooperative, at the leased enterprise, and in other spheres of the nonstate form of ownership.

Second, as the experience of the worker and trade union movement shows, strong trade union organizations may be formed only on the basis of the working people's unification not by occupation but by industry—in the form of orderly, civilized, and disciplined unions.

Unfortunately, we have frequently observed this principle purely formally, following at close range the endless changes in the structure of control of the economy. And each time, what is more, the reorganization has been carried out in accordance with a command from above,

there not being the least adaptation to the wishes of the members of the unions themselves and their primary organizations.

It is essential to emphatically have done with such a practice and establish that any changes in the structure may be made only with the consent of the members of the sectoral trade unions, in accordance with the results of their referendums or a decision of congresses. The trade union structure should serve the main goal—the expression and defense of the interests of the working people and the primary organizations in the current organs of state power and administration.

Considering the need for better and fuller representation and defense of the professional interests of various groups, it is essential to more boldly take the path of formation within the industrial unions of committees, associations, and other trade bodies. Experience of such work is already beginning to take shape.

Particular attention should be paid to the rayon, city, and oblast committees or other superior bodies formed in accordance with the wishes of the primary organizations, which are, of the whole trade union structure, the closest to them. For it is here that common demands are shaped and concerted actions mapped out and realized. It is from here that assistance and support for the "primaries" in all work, including in the solution of conflict situations with management, come.

Third, there is a steep increase today in the role of the country's territorial state formations—republics, krays, and oblasts—in the socioeconomic development of their regions. It is this that determines the qualitatively new nature of the activity of interunion trade union authorities as vitally important components of the trade union movement.

Many trade union councils are breaking emphatically with command- distributive functions and substitution for the sectoral trade union authorities.

The practice of the activity of the Tver, Kuybyshev, and Poltava councils and, subsequently, of the Council of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia formed on the principles of direct equal representation shows that these bodies are becoming genuine councils for the sectoral trade unions. Exercising the range of authority delegated to them by member organizations, they, as the authoritative center, unite the efforts of the production councils and the primary organizations around important programs of the social protection of the working people. And the stronger the sectoral structures which are a part of them become, the stronger it itself will be. This is the sole correct approach, and it is proposed to consolidate it as a fundamental principle of the composition of territorial interunion authorities.

And fourth and finally, our attitude toward the principle of democratic centralism, by which we have up to now abided throughout our organizing work.

Under the conditions of unification of the unions on the principles of confederation or federation, it will undoubtedly be necessary to abandon the application of this principle, particularly the well-known Stalinist postulates which changed centralism from democratic to bureaucratic.

Such, comrades, are certain considerations of a fundamental nature which, in our view, should be made the basis of the organization and activity of the unions at the current stage.

It is essential to also approach from the positions that have been set forth the formation of a new all-Union association of trade unions.

While paying tribute to the role the AUCCTU has performed under the conditions of the unitary state, it needs to be recognized also that it was a body of the era of distorted democratic centralism and the command system of administration. Today, when all our member organizations—both sectoral and republic—are starting to operate independently and merely in accordance with their own statutes, the functions of the all-Union trade union center are changing radically.

The principles on which it is proposed to build the trade union center and its possible functions have been set forth in the documents presented to the congress delegates, who have the right to adopt the final decision.

We will emphasize merely what is most important. The member organizations will associate voluntarily and will themselves shape the composition of the council and endow it with the necessary authority and finances. All decisions must be adopted by the center on the basis of democracy in the interests of the member organizations. At the same time many comrades from the localities are warning perfectly justifiably against the new democratic principles of the formation and activity of the trade union center turning it into a debating club. In the interests of the working people and its member organizations the country's trade union center should be strong and effective, particularly in relations with the all-Union organs of state power and administration.

Nor is it possible to avoid the question of other public organizations, for which protection of the professional interests of particular groups of working people is a principal statutory task. They also, evidently, should have an opportunity to become members of the union trade union association, on a different legal basis, perhaps. This would ensure for the trade union movement extensive support on the part of many public organizations such as, for example, the All-Union Society of Inventors and Efficiency Experts, which currently unites over 12 million citizens.

Concerning the center's name: In accordance with the principles of its formation, the most acceptable name might be "General Confederation of Trade Unions of the USSR." "General" to emphasize that it unites trade unions on the scale of the whole country. Confederation,

because it will represent a voluntary alliance of sovereign member organizations operating on the basis of their own statutes and programs.

Comrades!

While discussing today the future of the trade union movement, we must not forget the human factor. We must respond to the at first sight simple and at the same time fundamental questions of the life of the trade union movement:

restoration of the real voluntary nature of membership of a trade union;

real rights of members of trade unions both in the solution of questions of the life of their trade union and in the use of the advantages accorded them.

In any event, our programs and actions must correspond to the main question of what we do for each member of a trade union personally.

And here it is perfectly obvious that the exercise of protective functions and realization of the advantages of membership of a trade union require the constant reinforcement of the unions' material facilities.

The main source of these have been and as yet remain trade union dues. We have already broken too many lances and adopted too many high-handed decisions on this matter. There are many examples of both the "undressing" of the primaries and their unthinking expenditure or deadening altogether of trade union resources.

No one is in any doubt, most likely, as regards recognition of the priority of the primary organization in regard to control of the trade union budget.

As far as their payments of monies to their centers and associations is concerned, the principle of the need to provide for their activity and the allocation of resources for specific programs and special funds should evidently be exercised here.

At all levels of the trade union structure, including in the Union trade union center, it would be expedient to form solidarity funds on the basis of a fixed percentage deduction from trade union dues. You will all understand full well that these resources could be needed for assisting in special circumstances and in instances of a strike struggle being conducted.

If we wish to achieve the real, not merely declared, independence of the unions, it is essential that we have our own financial and credit system independent of the state. A USSR Trade Union Bank and trade union banks in Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities, which are even today providing additional resources for the unions' budget, have now been formed. We need to develop a network of such banks and our own joint-stock companies and assertive commercial activity.

The trade union movement today has to involve itself in earnest not only in the multiplication but also protection of its property, to which many claimants have emerged of late.

The AUCCTU Ninth Plenum adopted the "Statement on the Property of the USSR Trade Unions," in which such encroachments are decisively rejected and viewed as anticonstitutional. We hope that with the adoption of the president's edict on the protection of all forms of property, such attempts will cease.

We could defend ourselves against an external threat. But we need to put our own house in order also.

There is no doubt that the trade union economic pyramid should be redesigned. But it cannot be allowed to be pulled apart piece by piece into regional and sectoral apartments. Of course, what has been created directly by this trade union and trade union association or the other should be its property.

But that which has been created "all together" should belong to all members of the unions, regardless of where this property is located—on the Black Sea or the Baltic, in the Transcarpathians or in Russia.

Another question. While recognizing that unions' property should be common and indivisible on an all-state scale, operational administration of it should, in our view, be transferred to the trade union authorities locally, which should both receive some of the profits from its operation and make a certain contribution to its strengthening and development.

In any event, we must seek agreement on all property issues by way of dialogue, taking the interests of all fully into account. This dialogue could be conducted in a conciliation commission specially created on a federal basis.

The independence of the unions is largely determined by the possibility of objectively conveying their viewpoint to the working people and establishing live, permanent relations with them. A most important role here belongs to the mass media.

The state is, as before, a monopolist in the sphere of television and radio and the distribution of funds for paper. The unions did not adopt the best decision in the past when they began to produce sectoral newspapers together with the ministries—our current opponents. Nor was the best decision adopted by the AUCCTU when it created the Center for the Study of Public Opinion together with a state body—the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems.

The unions need their own television and radio broadcasting channels, their own independent press and news agency, and their own sociological service.

Comrades! Multiparty conditions and pluralism in the social and political life of society are posing the question

of the political independence of the unions and recognition of their members' freedom to join any political parties and movements.

While declaring our independence of the organs of state and economic administration and political organizations, we should emphasize that the new trade union center will support the actions only of the parties and social and political movements whose actual deeds correspond to the interests of the working people.

Many new trade union associations have emerged recently. Some of them, like the Scientific and Technological Cooperative, Enterprise, and Organization Workers Union, have decided to operate within the framework of the country's common trade union movement. Such associations as the Socialist Trade Union, Unity, and others are operating separately.

On behalf of the congress it is essential that we state with all certainty that the future trade union does not lay claim to an exclusive monopoly in the organization of the country's trade union movement and is prepared to conduct an open dialogue and constructively cooperate with trade union centers and trade union associations which are not a part of it.

We address this also to the delegates to the second miners' congress which has opened in Donetsk. We should treat the decisions of this congress with respect and understanding, proceeding from the principles of worker solidarity and unity.

We have to formulate our positions pertaining to interaction with other organizations of the workers movement—the Confederation of Labor, and associations and unions of workers' clubs and strike committees.

It has to be seen that, despite the fact that there are many power methods in the latter's activity, the workers movement is developing in the soil of real problems, has shaken up the trade union structures also to a certain extent, and has advanced from its milieu many real leaders with support in the masses.

The unions' discovery of their place and role in the society in renewal will depend to a decisive extent on their personnel potential and its capacity for operating in exceptional fashion and on an ability to see the long term and make its thoughts and deeds commensurate with the situation in society and the demands the working people are making of the trade unions.

In the present complex situation a profound knowledge of the mood of the masses, a capacity for marching ahead of events, not dragging along in their rear, and an ability to persuade people of the soundness of this action or the other and be consistent and persevering in the defense of their legitimate demands are required of trade union leaders.

Exceptional importance is attached to mastery of the skills of negotiating with representatives of management and soviet, state, and economic organizations and an

ability to express, argue, and defend the requirements of workers and employees upon the conclusion of collective contracts and other agreements and the solution of conflict situations.

Abandonment of the schedule-of-appointments approach to the formation of the personnel and the activists and democratization of election practice will enable the members of a union to nominate for the leadership of trade union authorities of all levels leaders whom they trust and whom they will support.

These people will require serious training. It is necessary to take advantage of our entire system of personnel training to afford them the necessary knowledge. We need to adopt a serious attitude toward an analysis of the work of our educational institutions and, if necessary, reorganize them and change the content of their work.

The Unions' International Activity

On the whole we have to construct our international work anew.

The current situation requires, it seems to us, a decisive shift of the center of gravity here from the accomplishment primarily of political tasks to practical questions connected first and foremost with study of the experience of foreign trade union centers and the establishment of new forms of cooperation with them under the conditions of the economic reforms being implemented in the country.

The problem of employment, the price of manpower, social insurance, the conclusion of the unions' agreements with the employers, the unions' collective actions—dialogue with our colleagues overseas is essential on these and other questions.

We are currently confronted with essentially entirely new problems also.

We will have to formulate positions and tactics of action under conditions where there is a real danger of the country becoming a supplier of cheap manpower for the West and a purchaser of outmoded technology and low-grade commodities.

Our cogent position, the extensive use of the right of legislation initiative, and constructive interaction with the trade union centers of foreign countries will be required here. It will be necessary to make more rational use also of the accumulated potential of the International Labor Organization and participate in it more actively.

The question of the future of the World Federation of Trade Unions [WFTU] is more acute today than ever. Its renewed activity as an international trade union center should be connected primarily with a renunciation of the inordinate politicization of international trade union relations. A fresh view of international solidarity, class interests and those common to all mankind, and relations between the "enemies" and "allies" of the working class is needed. The 12th World Congress of Trade

Unions, which will take place next month in Moscow, could, we hope, be a decisive step toward the real renewal of the WFTU.

As a whole, it is essential that we abandon all that is sham and formal in international activity and develop more actively practice corresponding to actual mutual interests.

Comrades!

The report has set forth considerations pertaining to main directions of the unions' activity. Today's reality, however, demands of us immediate action. The country is in profound political and economic crisis. A chain reaction of the disintegration of economic relations is underway, and enterprises are coming to a halt. Interruptions involving bread, children's food, and medical preparations, tobacco riots, failures of the plans for the construction of housing and its preparation for winter—all these are signals of the paralysis and inaction of certain organs of power. The hotbeds of interethnic discord and conflicts are not subsiding, and crime is growing. It may be said that our state is not today performing its main function—that of guarantor of the social protection of the individual.

The unions, which unite more than 140 million people, could make their contribution to a strengthening of social stability in society and render people specific assistance. Proceeding from local conditions, each trade union organization is capable here of itself determining the forms of participation in this work, but the tactics of action could be uniform and could incorporate:

First, the universal conclusion of collective contracts. It is evidently essential to bring the collective bargaining campaign forward to November-December in order for each outfit to have time to shape if only a minimal system of people's social safeguards prior to the start of the economic year.

While displaying solidarity with the working people of related subcontractor enterprises, it would be correct to raise the question of the unconditional fulfillment of contractual commitments and the preservation for the immediate future of the evolved business ties. Today contracts have been concluded for 40-50 percent of the volume of production. In respect to the supply of raw material in textile industry, only for 15-20 percent. Unless there is a change in the situation, the enterprises will come to a halt, and millions of people will be left without work and without wages.

Second, meetings and negotiations with the organs of soviet power locally on measures to solve vitally important questions: supplies of food and basic necessities and their price, construction and maintenance of housing, the fight against crime and profiteering, and others.

Third, the conclusion of master agreements between the country's trade union center and the government and between republic and sectoral trade union authorities

and the corresponding organs of state power and administration on key questions affecting the interests of the working people. Thereby taking an appreciable step toward stabilization of the overall situation in 1991. None of this means that we will once again insert ourselves in the position of the government and business leaders. In this critical situation it is a question, figuratively speaking, of bearing on our shoulders a heavy burden which no one, for all that, other than the working people will hoist.

Fourth, demands on the economic and local authorities for the unions' obligatory participation in the event of a decision being made on all questions of the denationalization of enterprises, privatization, determination of the forms of ownership, the sale of housing, and the amounts of the extra payments and compensation in the period of transition to the market.

Fifth, the creation of union solidarity funds at all levels as the material basis for the support of possible collective actions to defend the working people's interests.

Comrades! We are not in submitting the AUCCTU report to the 19th USSR Trade Union Congress anticipating the conclusions and decisions that will be formulated in the course of open and concerned debate.

The congress must determine what the character of the unions will be under the new conditions.

The main purpose and main task of our congress is to secure trade union unity on the fundamental basis of protection of the working people's legitimate interests.

United trade unions will defend the rights of the working people, divided unions will be sacrificed to departmental, local, and group interests.

We understand unity and interaction on a democratic basis not as subordination of the union organizations to the center but as worker solidarity and community of goals and specific action.

The working people are interested in strong, independent, and authoritative unions. It is our duty to justify their trust and expectations!

Credentials Commission Reports

914F0022A Moscow TRUD in Russian 25 Oct 90 p 3

[Report delivered by the Credentials Commission at the 19th Congress of USSR Trade Unions in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] Dear Comrade Delegates: At its meeting the Credentials Commission of the 19th Congress of Trade Unions considered a range of questions within its sphere of competence.

Permit me to inform you first of all about the authority and composition of the delegates to our congress. The delegates were elected on a democratic basis in accordance with the procedure for electing delegates to the 19th Congress of

USSR Trade Unions and the representation quota approved by the Eighth Plenum of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions].

The right to nominate candidates for delegates to a congress of the country's trade unions was accorded to primary trade union organizations directly for the first time. These nominations were then discussed at oblast, kray, and republic conferences of sectoral unions or at plenums of the corresponding trade union committees and councils of sectoral trade union committee chairman. The proposals pertaining to the candidates who obtained the greatest number of votes in the balloting were then submitted by the middle-tier trade union committees and councils of sectoral trade union committee chairman to the corresponding trade union central committees and councils.

This procedure for the nomination and discussion of candidacies afforded the members or the trade union committees an opportunity to nominate candidates for delegate directly, to discuss them extensively and publicly, and to submit recommendations pertaining to improving the activity of the trade union bodies. The delegates to the 19th Congress of USSR Trade Unions were mainly chosen by closed, that is, secret, ballot, at congresses of trade unions of the USSR and congresses of republic unions. Delegates to the congress from the unions of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], the Ukrainian SSR, the Belorussian SSR, the Uzbek SSR and the Kazakh SSR were elected at oblast and kray inter-union conferences. The eighth plenum accorded the AUCCTU Presidium, as an exception, the right to consider proposals from individual trade union bodies concerning changes in the procedure for electing delegates. This was subsequently extended to the AUCCTU Secretariat also. Availing itself of this right, the AUCCTU Presidium and Secretariat permitted 72 oblast and kray trade union councils, the Komi Republic Federation of Trade Union Organizations and the Kiev Oblast Trade Unions Council to elect delegates to the congress at enlarged plenums of these bodies.

Proposals of the Moscow City Trade Unions Council concerning the election of delegates to the 19th congress at city conferences of sectoral unions and of the All-Union Council of the Automotive and Agricultural Engineering Workers Union concerning the election of delegates at trade union conferences of the Gorkiy Auto Works, the Kama Truck Plant and the Volga Passenger Automobile Plants were supported also. Delegates from the Motor Transport and Highways, Agro-Industrial Complex, Trade, Public Catering and Consumer Cooperative Society and Culture, Public Education and Science Workers Unions were elected with the authorization of the Presidium at republic congresses and enlarged plenums of republic trade union committees.

The right to elect delegates to the trade unions congress at enlarged plenums of trade union bodies was also accorded the Armenian and Tajik Republic Trade Union Councils and the central bodies of the Fish Industry,

Coal Industry, and Scientific and Technology and Science-Production Cooperative, Enterprise, and Organization Workers Unions, workers of cooperatives of the RSFSR, the Independent Union of RSFSR Detective Agency Workers, the Association of Trade Union Organizations of Students of Higher Educational Institutions of the USSR, and the All-Union Confederation of Unions of Workers of the Cooperative System and Enterprises of Other Forms of Free Enterprise.

The trade union centers of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Georgia did not submit papers pertaining to the election of delegates to the 19th Congress of USSR Trade Unions. Twelve representatives of these republics were elected delegates at sectoral congresses of unions of the USSR. The majority of delegates to the congress were elected on a multiple-choice basis.

Comrade Delegates, having studied the papers pertaining to the elections of delegates to the 19th Congress of USSR Trade Unions that were presented, the Credentials Commission reports that the elections were conducted in accordance with the procedure and representation quotas approved by the Eighth Plenum of the AUCCTU, in the main.

However, in the course of the elections some delegates to the congress were elected by a show of hands. Considering that this was done at the insistence of a majority of delegates to the congresses and conferences and the participants in enlarged plenums of the trade union councils, the 10th Plenum of the AUCCTU resolved to agree with the decisions of all congresses, conferences, and plenums concerning the election of delegates to the congress of the country's trade unions by show of hands. The Lugansk Oblast Inter-Union Confederation resolved to elect delegates to the Congress of USSR Trade Unions in accordance with five lists and a relative majority of the vote cast. As a result, Comrades I.L. Nol, a mechanic of the Luganskteplovoy Production Association, and S.Ye. Shtanko, editor of the oblast newspaper MOLODOGVARDEYETS, were elected delegates to the Congress of USSR Trade Unions with less than half the votes of the conference delegates. The Credentials Commission proposes that the congress recognize the authority of Comrades Nol and Shtanko.

The congress of the Government Employees Union elected one delegate more than established by the representation quota. In this connection Comrade I.L. Grebenshchikov, delegate to the Congress of USSR Trade Unions elected from this union, sent the congress Credentials Commission a statement relinquishing his authority as delegate. Considering the strength of this union and the fact that this was an isolated occurrence, the Credentials Commission proposes recognition of the authority of all 47 delegates elected at the congress of the Government Employees Union (applause). The commission found that the possibility of such a decision lay in the fact that five persons were elected delegates to the congress simultaneously from sectoral and inter-union trade union bodies. The Credentials Commission

checked the authority of all delegates to the congress and, with regard for the facts noted above, deems them valid.

Some 2,402 delegates, who represent over 141 million trade union members, were elected to the Congress of USSR Trade Unions altogether. Among the delegates there are 666 workers and 63 rank and file kolkhoz [collective farm] members, which constitutes 30 percent of the delegates. Forty-four leaders of associations, enterprises, and organizations and kolkhozes and sovkhozes [state farms] and 57 engineering-technical workers were elected delegates to the congress. Some 123 persons working in science, health care, and public education were delegated to the congress. The country's artistic intelligentsia is represented at the congress by 21 figures of culture, literature, art and the press. Some 451 delegates, or almost one out of every five, are representatives of trade union committees in primary trade union organizations. Some 733 delegates or 30 percent are leaders of middle-tier trade union bodies—from republic through rayon trade union committees. One out of every three delegates is a full-time union official or union activist.

Among the delegates there are 613 women, which is more than 25 percent of the delegates. Representatives of 56 nations and national groups of our country are taking part in the 19th Congress of USSR Trade Unions. Delegates 30 years and younger constitute 4 percent, 63 percent are 31 to 50, 31 percent are 51 to 60, and 1.6 percent are 60 years and older. Almost 99 percent of the delegates have higher and incomplete higher and secondary education. Some 2,022 persons or 84 percent of all delegates are taking part in a congress of our country's unions for the first time. Confirming the delegates' authority, the Credentials Commission requests approval of this report.

Dear Comrade Delegates! The Credentials Commission has received applications from representatives of associations of USSR cooperative and cooperative enterprise worker unions and the Union of Workers of Youth Housing Complexes and Self-Management Committees in the USSR invited to the congress requesting their status as guests be changed to the status of delegates to the congress. The commission has examined this application and asks the applicants to submit to the commission material confirming their authority. Given evidence of this material, the commission will be prepared to examine it and will request permission to notify the congress of the decision it adopts.

Congress Proceedings Reviewed

914F0021B Moscow TRUD in Russian 25 Oct 90 p 1

[Article by D. Grafov, F. Yemchenko, V. Kuzmishchev, B. Leonov, and Yu. Ursov: "The 19th Congress of USSR Trade Unions"]

[Text] The reader who has been attentively following congresses at all levels over the past year and a half might be able to come up with some kind of general formula

which determines the course and content of the discussions. Judging from the second day of its work, the congress of trade unions was no exception. There was the same wide range of topics in the speeches that is familiar from the debates of the USSR people's deputies, the reproaches to the presidium about "apparatus" intrigues, the accusation of lack of objectivity in the press, the constant appeals to stick with the agenda.... Apparently the establishment of democracy has fairly stable overall patterns, regardless, as it were, of its sociopolitical content.

Incidentally, getting ahead of ourselves, let us say that in this respect the congress of trade unions has an advantage over Union and republic levels forums with which we are familiar. In any case, during the first day of work that was free of reports, the delegates were able to adopt several important decisions: The debates did not wander aimlessly. This pertains above all to the role of the trade unions in economic activity and their place in the political arena. Certain speakers, clearly addressing M.S. Gorbachev, who was present in the presidium, asserted that the CPSU is getting away from protection of the working people. The trade unions should take over this function. Well, regardless of the justification for these reproaches, it is clear that in today's critical social situation the trade unions will not be able to avoid a certain amount of politicization. But under the conditions of the market economy priority should still be given to economic methods of fighting for the social rights of workers, as many of the speakers emphasized.

But here is the opinion of Z. Radzhabov, chairman of the Kashkadarya Oblast Ispolkom [Executive Committee], regarding this:

"The Communist Party is justifiably criticized for the fact that recently it has gotten away from its initial task—to express and defend the interests of the workers. With the appearance of other parties the CPSU began to engage in a sometimes formal struggle for leadership in the political arena. On the other hand, there is too much emphasis on problems within the party. Therefore, now the trade unions are to some degree forced to use their own strengths to fight for the protection of the workers' interests. They have sufficient forces for this. But still we need—I am saying this as a Communist—to return the party to its initial task. First of all it is necessary to think about the interests of the workers and not of the party apparatus. At the same time this does not rule out a more active political life for the trade unions themselves. The aspirations of working people can be expressed and defended both by the party and by the trade unions through their own specific methods. The one does not stand in the way of the other."

In a word, the strategy of the trade unions under market conditions, which was presented in the report of the AUCCTU, did not evoke any special objections from anyone. But what about the tactics? In discussing the concrete areas of trade union activity one can find a common note: There is no certainty about what is

promised by the changeover to the market; people do not know what price they may still have to pay. No clarity was added by the speech of N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who generally demonstrated an ability to conceal what most of the population might expect from the increase in prices and taxes behind a set of externally innocent phrases about the need to strive for social partnership. N. Ryzhkov also sidestepped one of the central points of trade union economic strategy—the demand to centrally increase the payment of the work force. And in a moment appeals rang out from the microphones in the hall to express a vote of no confidence in the government.... Of course this is no way to develop a generally acceptable social strategy, but it is extremely convincing evidence of the fact that the trade unions, it seems, are finally getting over the syndrome of "drive belt of the state apparatus."

V. Pandin, chairman of the trade union committee of the Ukhta combined aviation detachment, thinks "the premier's speech did not introduce any clarity. The government's position seemed fairly crafty to me. It is hard to believe Nikolay Ivanovich's statement to the effect that he needs strong trade unions...."

After all, the government cannot be reproached in an unqualified manner for ignoring the demands of the trade unions. The USSR Council of Ministers also has its own fairly well founded arguments. Today it is much easier to criticize Gerasimov than the director of your home enterprise.

Nonetheless, after the speech by G. Budyak, who spoke about the impoverished position of the students, reaction followed instantaneously: The USSR president and the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers are ready to meet with student representatives on the morning of 1 November....

It is difficult to deny the desire of the higher state officials to consolidate. So there must be a countermovement from the trade unions, which many of the speakers discussed, seeing this as one of the main functions of the new all-Union trade union center.

But it is very difficult to achieve this. Remnants of the past were just about to break through in certain of the speeches yesterday, giving justification for trade union opponents to accuse them of being unable to conduct a dialog by democratic methods. This included the ultimatum to the USSR Supreme Soviet to immediately discuss and adopt on the first reading a draft law on the rights of trade unions, and the extremely critical analysis of the articles about the congress in the central publications with the concealed hint that the journalists are not objective and it would be a good idea to put them in their place....

Yet E. Pamfilova, USSR people's deputy from the trade unions, thinks that the draft law on the rights of trade unions does not provide for the legal defense of the

workers. Moreover, it actually preserves the administrative command role of the AUCCTU by retaining its directive functions. So there is no reason to be in a hurry to adopt the draft law....

On the whole the second day of the delegates' work, in our view, ended with a positive balance, as it were. The critical attacks, which surprise few, were backed up by substantiated, businesslike proposals. And this inspires optimism that the congress will violate one more strong "stagnant" tradition according to which the majority of the good and correct decisions remain on paper....

The evening session of the congress began with information and reports for the delegates and also a stormy outburst of emotions. The delegates became very involved in discussing which newspaper devoted how much space and how many lines to covering the congress of trade unions and evaluated the articles in the press and the programs on television. Well, everyone, including a congress delegate, has the right to his opinion. But why not grant that same right to press and television workers? It is possible to criticize the author of a television news show, but to demand at the congress that his accreditation be withdrawn simply because he expressed his opinion.... This is not in keeping with the Law on the Press, which guarantees the journalist's right to his own viewpoint. And delegate S.F. Zhuravlev was obviously right when he said that trade union members could judge the significance of the congress not from the news accounts and reports but from the decisions it adopts and the trade unions that are created.

The discussion of the congress decree on the AUCCTU report on work during the period since the 18th Congress of Trade Unions and the task of radically renewing the country's trade union movement was also stormy and heated. The arguments had to do mainly with the following issues: To evaluate the work of the AUCCTU during the report period or not? To consider the AUCCTU "eliminated" or "abolished"? Ultimately it was decided not to evaluate the AUCCTU and to "abolish the AUCCTU which has exhausted its authority." And it was nice for us TRUD journalists to hear the approving applause for the proposal to produce our newspaper, beginning on 25 October, not as an organ of the AUCCTU but as the newspaper of the USSR trade unions.

Attitudes on Trade Unions Polled

914F0023A Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Oct 90 p 2

[Unattributed report on "Results of Public Opinion Surveys on Trade Unions": "How the People See the Trade Unions"]

[Text] During 1989 and 1990, the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion conducted population surveys concerning the people's attitude towards trade unions. Understanding that polls cannot give an exact assessment of one phenomenon or another, we believe, nonetheless, that the results of this poll provide material for discussion

on the largest mass organization of workers, on the reasons behind formation of these opinions on the trade unions, and on the paths along which the trade union movement should develop in order to become effective.

Responding to the question posed in March of last year, "How do you evaluate the role of trade unions today in protecting the rights of workers in our country?" a majority (52 percent) of urban residents polled responded more than categorically: "Fairly low," or "Very low." Only 23 percent of those surveyed assessed this role positively. Judging from poll results, no more than a third of city and rural residents surveyed expressed complete confidence in our trade unions and their leading organs. The following data confirm this.

Degree of confidence in trade unions and their leading organs:

(Information presented here does not include data on those who had difficulty responding or on respondents [as published]; the totals, therefore, do not equal 100 percent)

March 1989 (urban population): Complete confidence—20; Partial confidence—54; Complete lack of confidence—22.

July 1989 (urban and rural population): Complete confidence—16; Partial confidence—48; Complete lack of confidence—36.

November 1989 (urban and rural population): Complete confidence—32; Partial confidence—34; Complete lack of confidence—19.

December 1989 (urban and rural population): Complete confidence—21; Partial confidence—30; Complete lack of confidence—26.

June 1990 (urban population): Complete confidence—22; Partial confidence—18; Complete lack of confidence—31.

As we can see, the trend towards growing confidence is seen at present to be weak and unstable.

What is the basic reason, in the opinion of those surveyed, for such a critical assessment of the activity of trade unions and their leading organs in protecting the rights and interests of workers? Cited first among the reasons was trade union dependency on enterprise and organization management, and on higher-echelon directive organs (party, soviet, state). Half of the urban and rural population respondents in June 1990 stated this as a reason. And to the question "For whose interests are members of the trade union committees of your enterprise primarily fighting?" one third of these respondents cited management interests. In the survey conducted in November of last year, 84 percent of those polled indicated agreement with the idea that independence of the trade unions was a necessary condition for better (than now) representation by them of workers' interests. Only four percent did not agree with this assertion.

The second reason given by survey respondents for a negative attitude towards the trade unions was weak legal foundations for their activity. This is seen primarily in the fact of inadequate trade union rights, a circumstance that creates difficulties in protecting the fundamental interests of workers. It is no accident that 63 percent of those polled in August 1989 supported introduction of the right of trade unions to suspend execution of management decisions that run counter to workers' interests—a right envisaged in the draft Law on Trade Union Rights that is under such difficult and pointed discussion in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Respondents expressed particularly active support of the right to suspend management decisions in favor of protecting workers' interests in improved housing conditions (74 percent), improved working conditions (73 percent), environmental protection (63 percent), and increased wages (62 percent).

The surveys show that one reason for weak protection by the trade unions of workers' rights and interests is the fact that trade union committee members do not possess structured, sufficiently thorough economic or legal skills. Thirty-eight percent of the respondents replied in this manner. Approximately one-fourth of the survey participants had encountered situations in the past two or three years in which their rights and interests were infringed upon, but only 20 percent of these turned to the trade unions for assistance. It should be noted that only 15 percent of those who sought assistance from trade union committees achieved a complete solution to their problem; 21 percent found a partial solution. Half of those seeking help gained nothing, and for 15 percent—the situation actually deteriorated.

Among other reasons cited for the low prestige of trade unions was their poor participation in administration and management, and deficiencies in the selection of candidates for union leadership positions. Forty percent of those polled relate poor defense of workers' interests by the trade unions to the quality of union leaders—to their callousness and selfishness (20 percent) or to their legal illiteracy (20 percent).

The striving of trade unions seen in recent years to enhance their protective function, to free themselves from the wardship of party and state organs and enable the collectives themselves to elect leaders with initiative and principle on a competitive basis—to protect people's interests not just in words, but in fact—has not gone unnoticed in the population. Almost 22 percent of those polled believe the style, forms, and methods of the newly elected trade union committees have changed for the better; only four percent expressed the opposite view. However, 42 percent stated that everything remains on the same level as before in the work of the trade union committees. Only 11 percent of the respondents are convinced that the trade union constitutes precisely an organization that is capable of protecting its members. Forty-five percent stated that existing trade unions can fulfill this function if their rights

are expanded and their structures rebuilt, if they move towards satisfying the interests of people, and change their methods of operation.

It should be noted that more than 40 percent of those polled in September of last year believe that adoption of the Law on Trade Union Rights will not facilitate improved trade union operation, because the present trade unions are not capable of handling these rights effectively. In addition, 44 percent responded that in order to effectively exercise new rights, new trade unions are necessary.

These data do not agree, however, with the results of the survey conducted nine months later, in June of this year. In response to the direct question as to whether independent republic and "free" trade unions are worthy of confidence, nine and 13 percent, respectively, responded in the affirmative. Ten percent of survey participants evaluated the independent republic trade unions as "not worthy of confidence," and seven percent so assessed the "free" trade unions. Thirty-three and 30 percent, respectively, had difficulty responding to this question, and 46-48 percent admitted they know nothing about these trade unions.

In other words, the population is not convinced of the need for new organizations or alternatives with respect to existing trade unions. One should sooner consider, as the prevailing view in public opinion, hope in the restructuring of our present trade unions. And the main features of this restructuring, in the view of the population, must primarily consist of the expansion of their rights—in particular, granting trade unions the right to suspend management decisions and the right to organize strikes, as well as focusing greater attention on such problems as working conditions, job security, people's health, their income, housing conditions, and the attainment of new trade union relations with their administrations. The problem of trade union participation in resolving problems of employment and the fight against unemployment is also becoming urgent.

It is felt that even the few public opinion survey results presented in this article, albeit not very pleasant for the trade union aktiv, will be useful to delegates at the trade union congress now underway, and also to all trade union functionaries and activists.

Interest Rate Increases on Savings Explained

LD0111122690 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0930 GMT 1 Nov 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As you know on 25 October the USSR president issued a decree on increasing the incentive for citizens to save in institutions of the USSR Savings Bank. In accordance with the presidential decree the USSR Ministry of Finance, State Bank, and Savings Bank decided to alter the rates paid on investments in the Savings Bank as of today, 1 November 1990. The new Savings

Bank rates are being increased from three to five percent annually on investments of one to five years; for three to five years to seven percent; and for more than five years to nine percent annually.

The viewer will naturally wonder what the individual investor should do after this decree becomes effective today. Does one necessarily have to visit the Savings Bank today? Of course not. Fixed period investments can be reregistered at the new interest rates until 1 May 1991. However the new interest rate for investors' fixed period investments becomes effective today, irrespective of when you reregister your investment.

Consumer Market 'Disorder' Hampers Economy

LD3110133990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] We have received the statistics for the results of industrial work in the Russian Federation in the last nine months. They show that although output of consumer goods compared to the first nine months of 1989 increased by nearly six percent, unsatisfied demand exceeded 110 billion rubles. Almost everywhere there is a shortage of consumer goods and paid services. Quota sale of goods is becoming more and more common. Customer coupons are being introduced. Real prices are increasing noticeably. The growing disorder in the consumer market is promoting destabilization in the whole economy and hampering the national economy's advancement toward the market. The report notes that compared with the corresponding period last year the number of state enterprise workers and organizations fell by more than 1 million persons. At cooperatives, on the other hand, the number increased by 1.4 times.

Alekseyev Urges Action on Market Reform

914A0056A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 44, 31 Oct 90 p 1

[Article by S. Alekseyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee: "Growing Multiple Authority"]

[Text] Any economic reform program is doomed to failure unless the political problem of multiple authority is resolved.

A fundamental and decisive change in the life of society, such as the introduction of commodity-market economy is impossible in principle unless the country has a sufficiently strong and capable leadership. Most of all, the power of the president resting on a broad democratic base.

In the change that we expect, much will be broken down in a fundamental way (the power of the monopolies and the existing bureaucratic systems), and will be replaced with qualitatively new elements (freedom of ownership, the reliability of and safeguards for property rights).

They may reproach us for calling for a retreat from democracy. But first, we must retreat not from democracy, but from anarchy and multiple authority, and at the same time democracy needs effective executive mechanisms. Second, it is impossible to ignore the historical experience of countries that moved earlier to a modern commodity-market economy. This transition has been effected even given the presence of occupying powers (West Germany, Japan) or given harsh authoritarian regimes (South Korea, Chile). The programs were different, but we see that they were all crowned with success for the simple reason that they were fulfilled, and this, in turn, became possible thanks only to the presence of a strong and capable authority.

Let anyone try to do this under conditions in which state decisions on economic reform are fulfilled only after they have been ratified at the local level, when parallel laws exist on one and the same question—property, entrepreneurship, tax policy. In such a situation the “best” program is always the one that is in opposition to the program adopted by the government. It will always be the winner because it cannot be implemented and its inevitable minuses cannot be displayed, and so the pluses can be praised to the skies.

It seems to me that the point of departure, the point from where the entire chain of transformations begins, is extremely important. And in this connection I must say this: It is of course essential to stabilize the situation in the money economy and the consumer market. But the stabilization measures proposed in the “Basic Guidelines...” can delay reform, and at this time profound destructive processes serve only to reinforce the collapse of the economy—unless decisive steps are taken now to set up the foundations of a market economy.

I have spoken many times on this issue. I shall say it once again: It is essential now, immediately, to start denationalizing property so that the producers themselves can become masters of the means of production as soon as possible. This very important measure can and must be implemented quickly, during the period of stabilization. I am convinced that only this will breathe life into our agonizing economy and provide impetus for the process of market self-regulation. And if at the same time we establish that throughout the period of stabilization state orders should not exceed 70 percent of enterprise capacities while the rest of output can be moved into the commodity exchanges, then a commodity-market economy will work (and work efficiently) in the very near future.

This is discussed in general in the “Basic Guidelines...” but it is just general, as if in passing. It seems to me that denationalization should be of key importance particularly during the period of stabilization.

But most of all, all the complicating factors in the mutual relations between the center, the republics, and the increasing number of new political formations that have

declared their sovereignty should be sorted out. It is essential to understand clearly that the worst destructive force for the country, more pernicious than simple paralysis among the authorities, is the growing multiple authority. For it is behind this that we sense with increasing clarity the labored breathing of the silent but increasingly vicious, uncompromising, fierce struggle for power that is going on behind the facade of respectable legal forms or in the form of polemics about economic programs.

Scientific

Almaz Satellite Ready To Survey Earth's Surface

LD3110153390 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT
31 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—The launching of the Almaz new-generation satellite will open new vistas for cosmonautics. The satellite designed to perform all-weather radar probing of the Earth's atmosphere and the world ocean in the interests of the Soviet economy, is scheduled for blast-off in late November-early December, head of the Soviet space agency Glavkosmos Aleksandr Dunayev told journalists today.

Dunayev dwelt on problems encountered by Glavkosmos as the country switches to a market economy.

“Given the present budget, it is difficult even to preserve the existing level of scientific research into space,” Dunayev said. “Our task is to preserve scientific potential, not to lose personnel. The utilisation of our scientific potential and the accumulated experience in space exploration will play an important role in international cooperation. We bear in mind here not only the use of our development projects and technologies by foreign scientists, but also the fulfilment of orders from foreign partners,” Dunayev said.

Specialists emphasised at the briefing that the science of the Earth as well as many branches of the Soviet economy cannot develop effectively today without comprehensively applying the results of Earth exploration from space.

The multizonal survey of the Earth's surface and the world ocean from space with the aid of the Resurs remote probing system provides specialists with valuable information which is used in the interests of the ecology, geology, oceanology, forestry, agriculture and land management. Areas struck by floods, forest fires and volcano eruptions can be periodically observed and natural calamities monitored only from space.

The efficiency of the remote probing of the Earth from space can be judged by the fact that one picture taken from space covers an area of the Earth's surface 36,000 square kilometers in size.

It takes a satellite only three to five minutes to beam back the number of photos which an aircraft makes during two years. The cost of photographing one square kilometer from space ranges from 28 to 99 kopecks and of aerophotography—from 1.2 to 2.7 roubles.

Specialists are presently switching to a comprehensive survey of whole regions. They have already completed the scanning of Tajikistan, the Kalmyk republic, Stavropol territory and the Tver region, central Russia. Work to probe the Novgorod region, the central part of the Russian federation, is now being finalised.

Cosmonauts Speak Out Against Nuclear Weapons

*PM3110101590 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 26 Oct 90*

[Report by Petr Orlov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Orlov] Unusual topics crop up in the space-earth communications channel from time to time. This is what happened on this occasion.

Postponing their reportage on preparations for the space-walk scheduled for 30 October, their scientific work, and their state of health—which, incidentally, is fine—the crew deemed it their duty to state their stance on nuclear tests, including the latest explosion at our test site in Novaya Zemlya.

[Manakov] We support the initiative of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace on drafting a people's treaty outlawing nuclear weapons and their development, production, and testing. If the USSR Supreme Soviet, the legislatures of other nuclear powers, and the legislatures of countries that have the potential to produce nuclear weapons backed this initiative not just with words but with legislative actions, this would create a realistic chance of ridding our planet once and for all of the threat of nuclear winter and self-annihilation.

[Orlov] How can space contribute to this? This year our crews have tested instruments for the remote identification of sources of heightened radiation from orbit. It is known that instruments used to study remote galactic radiation could also be used to identify similar phenomena on earth. So that space backing for efforts to prevent a nuclear winter are not just empty words.

This, incidentally, applies also to preventing a lethal artificial summer. This week the Soviet meteorological satellite Meteor-3 was for the first time successfully linked up with the U.S. TOMS [Total Ozone Mapping Spectrometer] apparatus. So far only on earth. [video shows operation] The objective of this project is to monitor the planet's ozone layer which protects it from ultra-violet radiation. We will keep you informed about this unique project to be launched in 1991.

Military

Novaya Zemlya Chief Defends Notification System

*PM0111113190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Oct 90 Union Edition p 1*

[Report by Ivan Bentsa: "After the Explosion on Novaya Zemlya"]

[Text] Novaya Zemlya—A group of people's deputies from Arkhangelsk Oblast and the Komi Republic are visiting the Novaya Zemlya Archipelago. They were invited there by the military following the 24 October underground nuclear explosion.

The northern test range had been silent for almost two years, and this test—held, as before, in total secrecy—has angered people. After all, back in May the command gave an assurance that it would give local authorities prior notification and invite representatives of the public to the tests. However, the military rejected our complaints over this. Rear Admiral V. Gorev, chief of the nuclear test range, reported that, since information about forthcoming tests is secret, the military is entitled to give prior notification of them only to the top leaders of Arkhangelsk Oblast and the Komi Republic. But even they were not present for the test—they were both on official trips.

In the test range commander's opinion the other agreement with the deputies has also been fulfilled: Under a 20 June 1990 protocol representatives of the public should be invited to the test site two days after the explosion. This has been done. The inclement weather is to blame for the fact that the guests were only able to fly in to Novaya Zemlya on 27 October.

Arbatov Argues Against Military Secrecy

*PM2610150390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Oct 90 Union Edition p 3*

[Article by USSR People's Deputy Georgiy Arbatov: "Thanks to Mr. Cheney for Revealing Our Military Secrets to Soviet Legislators"]

[Text] Last Wednesday [17 October], I had an opportunity to be present at an extraordinary event—the first ever meeting between U.S. Secretary of Defense R. Cheney and two USSR Supreme Soviet committees (the International Affairs Committee and the Committee for Defense and State Security Questions) which had assembled for a joint sitting. IZVESTIYA already carried a brief report on this meeting in the article "We Are Also Changing" (Issue No. 290, 18 October 1990). I would like to add to it somewhat.

"We are also changing"—this, as readers might recall, is a quotation from Mr. Cheney's statement at the meeting. "Yes," this totally conservative figure, hostile toward us for a long time, said "the Soviet Union and its policy are changing and becoming far less threatening to the United States. We are responding to the changes, we ourselves

are changing"—specifically, as the U.S. secretary of defense told us, by cutting back military expenditures and planning to reduce the country's Armed Forces by 100,000 men as early as next year, and by 35 percent over the next five years (their numerical strength now is about 2 million men against the Soviet Union's 4 million).

This statement cannot fail to gratify—the Soviet policy is yielding fruit and is beginning to break the vicious circle of steadily intensifying military rivalry. It was a double pleasure for me to listen to Mr. Cheney—he confirmed officially and before a highly representative Soviet audience something which I, in the course of stubborn and months-long arguments with some of our generals, have been trying to bring to the Soviet public's notice: What we are pursuing is not "unilateral disarmament" but a sensible and effective policy, making the other side also reduce its armaments and military expenditures. That we can act even more boldly and even more decisively without any damage to our own security, especially since economic difficulties have got us by the throat and any waste of money and resources is now simply unforgivable....

But while attending Cheney's conversation with Soviet legislators, I repeatedly found myself thinking that by no means everything has changed in these matters, by no means everything has fallen in place. Not only with the Americans, but also in our own country.

The U.S. secretary of defense appeared quite at ease during the meeting—he probably found it easier to converse with USSR people's deputies than with U.S. senators and congressmen. This was certainly not because the former were kinder to him—there were more than enough sharp questions and critical remarks. It was simply because U.S. legislators are far more familiar with the bottom line—primarily because it is not so diligently kept a secret from them. Each annual request for budgetary appropriations is contained in a large volume where each program is described in detail and the requested expenditure allocated down to the last dollar. These requests are never taken at face value, with many points providing the topic of debate and amendment. This year Congress cut back the administration's request for military appropriations by \$18 billion.

What happens in our country? USSR people's deputies in our country, including all members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions, were somewhat stunned on hearing the U.S. defense minister (Note: U.S., not USSR!) inform them that the Soviet Union is working on the development [razrabotka] of at least four or five new nuclear missiles, and that in general we—having the world's largest Armed Forces and despite the growing economic difficulties—are producing more in almost all categories of weapons than the United States. Specifically, last year we built 140 ballistic missiles against 12 in the United

States, two submarines against one by the Americans, with figures for tanks standing at 1,800 and 600 respectively.

I think that all who were present there—with the exception of Army General V. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister, and maybe (although I doubt it) L. Sharin, chairman of the Committee for Defense and State Security Questions—were hearing these figures for the first time and got quite worried by them. Especially since, under already long-awaited agreements and under the unilateral decision on armed forces and armaments cutbacks, we are due to destroy tens of thousands of tanks and mountains of other types of weapons....

Why is it that the USSR Supreme Soviet, or at least its Committee for Defense and State Security Questions and its International Affairs Committee, are not informed on these matters? Is it a military secret? But why keep it a secret? Especially seeing that it is perfectly well known to the other side, indeed by those from whom it should be kept a secret?

Let me cite some examples. Back in 1989, speaking at hearings at the U.S. House of Representatives Armed Services Committee, Marshal S.F. Akhromeyev gave details of the numerical strength of Soviet Ground Forces and the quantity of tanks planned for production, as well as information on a series of other questions of which Soviet legislators, let alone the general public, are ignorant.

Early this year, at a joint NATO and Warsaw Pact seminar, our General Staff also announced fresh data on our Armed Forces which were published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA only later and in a truncated form.

It was only recently, just a couple of weeks ago, that USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy presented at the United Nations a new figure for Soviet military expenditures—8 billion more than the amount ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet—and, as PRAVDA briefly reported, even publicly announced for the first time the amounts we spend on the maintenance of our Ground Forces, Navy, Air Force, and other combat forces; on military command; on supplying the USSR Armed Forces with aircraft, missiles, nuclear warheads, ships, artillery, armor, and tanks; and the amount of nonrepayable military aid to foreign states.

How come this information is supplied to the United Nations but has hitherto not been made public in the USSR Supreme Soviet? Think of the disrespect for one's own supreme legislative organ manifested by the fact that, while such data are announced to the whole world—if we were to believe our press which described our step at the United Nations as a "major breakthrough"—it is still the custom to keep them a secret from the Supreme Soviet!

Is there not a justified suspicion that all this openness is just for "show" rather than for the purpose of real change and democratization of the decisionmaking process?

Could it be that we find it more important to impress the West than to give our legislature the real tools of control over one of the most important and most expensive spheres of politics?

This is precisely why I, and probably other Soviet legislators, sensed a feeling of awkwardness and even shame. We asked ourselves: What would have happened to our U.S. interlocutor if he had attempted to deal with his own Congress in this fashion!

Listening to the U.S. secretary of defense, they probably thought to themselves: Why is it that the leaders of our own military department do not give the USSR Supreme Soviet committees—like he does with the U.S. Congress—facts and figures justifying the necessity for various military programs and the need to appropriate funds for each item of our military expenditures? For how long will we tolerate this humiliating situation, with the U.S. secretary of defense—almost accidentally at that—briefing Soviet legislators on the quantity of Soviet ballistic missiles, submarines, and other arms actually produced during the past year? Is it normal if our supreme legislative organ, when appraising the USSR's defense efforts, has no other available sources but the Pentagon publication "Soviet Military Power," which was politely—although not without a catch—offered to our legislators by the U.S. secretary of defense?

If people's deputies and their voters continue—already in the sixth year of perestroika—to tolerate this situation, there is no way we are likely to see either a rule-of-law state, a normal parliament, or democracy. Could this be the answer? Could it be that this is not a matter of delayed reaction to changes, not a matter of the inertia of senseless traditions, but actually a question of someone deliberately wanting to conceal data about military expenditures, military building, and military policy from the country's public and the Soviet parliament? To conceal them because these programs and these expenditures are unjustified, because they are in line with the department's interests rather than those of the country and the people. I would be reluctant to believe this, but we are entitled to insist on explanations.

Indeed, if everything remains a secret the military department would find it much easier to demand higher appropriations, to "expose" its critics, and even to divert the anger of its own officers who, despite military expenditures which are beyond the country's means, are eking an unenviable existence, resorting also to help from any demagogue using texts prepared in advance somewhere deep inside this department, to assault our foreign policy and to rant against the USSR Foreign Ministry and the country's leadership for allegedly compromising the motherland's security interests and doing nothing but making "unilateral" concessions to the enemy.

But whatever the causes of the prevailing practice of top secrecy in a very important sphere, which swallows almost one-fifth of the national income, this practice is

no longer tolerable. It is a matter of honor for the USSR Supreme Soviet to put an end to it.

One more point in conclusion. At the beginning of this article I mentioned IZVESTIYA's report on Cheney's meeting with Soviet legislators. It said that, in reply to a question why the USSR produces more weapons than the United States, especially in view of current economic conditions, Committee Chairman Deputy L. Sharin gave "an exhaustive briefing on the program for the military industry's conversion in our country, as a result of whose fulfillment some 60 percent of capacities should be converted for the manufacture of civilian output."

Being an eyewitness, I would take the liberty of disagreeing with this claim by IZVESTIYA's legislative correspondent. This is obviously a case of wishful thinking. With all due respect to Comrade Sharin, I must say that he said nothing specific about conversion. This is because this information is also evidently kept—for the time being, in any event—a secret from parliament. The fragmentary information which arrives at Supreme Soviet committees gives no chance at all to obtain a vague—let alone exhaustive—picture of this program. Judging by this information, there is no evidence at all about any conversion of 60 percent of production capacities. The program envisages not so much the conversion of defense industry enterprises but additional capital investment in defense industry sectors, only a part of which will be channeled into the development of civilian production. This "pseudoconversion" program is already being implemented, without asking for the legislature's consent.

Thus, the question of relations between executive and legislative powers remains topical, including on problems associated with defense. The situation must be changed, and urgently at that. The ratification of treaties directly linked with the Armed Forces and armaments is due in the very near future. It is probable that the discussion on military reform will not be postponed indefinitely. Finally, next year's defense budget is due for consideration. For the sake of our young legislature's prestige, for the sake of the country's security and prosperity, for the sake of taxpayers knowing where their money goes, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet public must be given adequate, truthful, and reliable information about their military expenditures, military programs, and armies.

The meeting between the U.S. secretary of defense and Soviet legislators made me think of all this yet again.

Arbatov's Article Criticized

PM3110092390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 30 Oct 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by G. Khromov, chief of department at the USSR Council of Ministers State Military-Industrial Commission: "For the Benefit of the Cause or for Sensationalism's Sake? Concerning an Article in IZVESTIYA"]

[Text] A few days ago IZVESTIYA (No. 297) published G. Arbatov's article "Thanks to Mr. Cheney for Revealing Our Military Secrets to Soviet Legislators." In my view, it correctly speaks of the inadequate information available to USSR people's deputies, including members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions, on the most important questions of Soviet military policy and military building. But a series of propositions in the article cause perplexity and demand amplification and clarification. There are also some that are simply unacceptable.

Let us look at the facts. The article claims, for example, the USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V. Petrovskiy gave the United Nations a new figure (exceeding by 8 billion the amount ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet) for Soviet military expenditures... and revealed for the first time the sums we spend to maintain the Ground Forces, Navy, Air Force, and so on. Accusations are immediately leveled: "How could it happen that these data were presented at the United Nations but have hitherto not been made public at the Supreme Soviet?"

In reality, however, the data in question were presented to our legislature by Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze and IZVESTIYA reported this. But for some unknown reason, neither IZVESTIYA nor our other press organs published these data in full. Nonetheless, it emerges that they were nonetheless made public at the USSR Supreme Soviet.

As for the "surplus" 8 billion rubles [R], I would not like to accuse those speaking about them of deliberately distorting the facts. It is obviously nothing more than a misunderstanding. The official data cited at the United Nations referred to Soviet military expenditures incurred in 1989 (using the form of UN international statistical accounting)—R77,951,000,000. This is indeed more than R7 billion in excess of the total defense expenditure ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet. Ratified, however, not for 1989 but for 1990. I do not find this all that difficult to clarify.

Let us now turn to what U.S. Secretary of Defense R. Cheney said when addressing the Soviet legislators, or rather the isolated figures and facts taken out of context from his speech by the author of the article.

By virtue of his duties as director of the USSR Academy of Sciences United States of America and Canada Institute, G. Arbatov is certainly familiar with the true state of affairs. But what does he do? He cites, for example, R. Cheney saying that "last year the Soviet Union built 140 ballistic missiles against 12 in the United States." But he ignores the fact that, for reasons known only to himself, the Pentagon chief was talking only about land-based ballistic missiles.

Indeed, being a land power, the Soviet Union has always placed the emphasis on land-based arms when ensuring its security. But when citing R. Cheney's data—which are a matter to be left to his own conscience—G. Arbatov kept silent about the Navy's ballistic missiles.

As a rule, the number of these missiles made in the United States is no less than ours. For some reason, the author of IZVESTIYA's article also kept silent about strategic arms categories like long-range cruise missile of various launch modes, which the Americans produce in numbers that are several times greater than ours. And if all this is added up, the resulting picture is completely different from the one painted by the champion of information availability and veracity. But he obviously has no use for it.

G. Arbatov takes R. Cheney's lead and repeats that the Soviet Union has built more missile-carrying submarines than the United States. And yet he ought to know that—at least according to the latest data from an authoritative nongovernmental organization like the London Institute for Strategic Studies—having launched one Typhoon-class submarine with 20 missiles and one Delta IV-class submarine with 16 missiles, the USSR decommissioned eight obsolete submarines with 60 missiles. And yet the Americans decommissioned only two Lafayette-class submarines with 32 Poseidon missiles. In exchange, they commissioned 48 launch systems for Trident-2 missiles on two Ohio-class submarines.

There is evidently no need to pursue this investigation. The biased references and the deliberate selection of facts are obvious. Articles like the one written by People's Deputy G. Arbatov can hardly serve the cause. They are being written for a different purpose. But what?

Working Group on Military Reform Holds Session

PM3010152790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 27 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by Lt. Col. N. Yefimov: "Within the Mainstream of Perestroika"]

[Text] A routine session of the working group formed in implementation of the USSR president's decree of 3 September "On Reforming Political Organs of the USSR Armed Forces, USSR KGB Troops, USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Troops, and Railroad Troops" has been held at the USSR Defense Ministry. A report on the progress of work on the draft statute was delivered by Colonel General G. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Doctor of Sciences Col. N. Karasev delivered a briefing on the results of the scientific expert assessment of the draft.

The course of the discussion of the draft statute on military-political organs and the decisions adopted by the military councils of branches of the Armed Forces, categories of troops, military districts, groups of forces, and fleets show that the main directions of the reform have been correctly chosen. This is also confirmed by sociological surveys among the troops and by the conclusions of five independent expert groups of military scientists. Thus according to sociologists over 70 percent of polled servicemen positively assessed the basic functions of military-political organs.

Over 500 constructive proposals, remarks, and additions concerning the clarification of the table of organization structure of the future military-political organs, their status, their powers, the procedure for their creation, and the mechanism for exercising their functions were submitted during discussion of the normative documents. In particular, it is proposed to strengthen the structure of primary military-political organs, to more precisely define the rights and duties of their officials, and to take into account the need to retrain some political workers. A proposal was also made to carry out the professional certification of political personnel.

The secretariat of the working group was instructed to finalize the draft statute on military-political organs in the light of the remarks and proposals.

Broader Republic Role in Running Military Planned

91UM0068A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 40, 6-12 Oct 90 p 2

[Interview with I. Novoselov, consultant of the sector for questions of defense and state security of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat, by N. Nikolayev; place and date not given; published under the rubric "The USSR Armed Forces Possess Approximately 42 Million Hectares of Land": "The Army and the New Union Treaty"]

[Text] [Nikolayev] Igor Petrovich, you are working on the draft of a protocol on military aspects of the Union treaty. Describe what is contained in it that is important and new.

[Novoselov] The fundamental thing that we have succeeded in devising through our joint efforts (representatives of the majority of the Union republics, with the exception of the Baltic republics, are taking part in the work) is that the Armed Forces should remain unified. In addition, each sovereign republic will delegate its representative the right of a deciding vote in the Defense Council, which did not exist previously.

The Union republics will also be given the right to participate in forming military policy, resolving issues regarding the stationing of troops, determining the number of conscripts and the manning levels of the Armed Forces as a whole, determining the budget of the Army and Navy, and many other things.

[Nikolayev] I know that notwithstanding the demands of several representatives of republics that servicemen serve in their own republics, there has been a decision to retain the principle of extraterritoriality.

[Novoselov] What can one say about Tajiks serving in Tajikistan and Uzbeks serving in Uzbekistan? We are not just talking about the USSR as a huge country, but rather as a state possessing a significant nuclear potential, a navy (including ocean-going submarines), Strategic Rocket Forces, strategic aviation, etc. Does this mean that the Strategic Rocket Forces will only be manned by Kazakhs because many of them are on their

territory? Or only by residents of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], who also have a good number of these "points"? And why do Tajiks not have the right to serve in the Navy?

[Nikolayev] But one might ask why send a Tajik to sea when he might as well be sent to the mountains.

[Novoselov] I fully agree with this; the principle of volunteerism is necessary. The wish of the conscript must necessarily be taken into consideration. And in general many (not all, of course) problems similar to this should vanish when our Armed Forces change over to the principle of staffing by contract.

[Nikolayev] These days the idea of bringing in the Army to resolve interethnic problems is condemned almost universally. The union of soldiers' mothers is actively protesting the intervention of Russian boys in conflicts such as the Armenian-Azerbaijani one. What can you say on this subject?

[Novoselov] Our draft protocol says that the Armed Forces are designated for the defense of the Union from attack from outside. As for internal conflicts, I believe that public security forces or formations should be created in each republic to resolve them. Citizens of each specific republic will belong to them on a voluntary basis.

[Nikolayev] There are paragraphs in the draft dedicated to issues of the land used by the military.

[Novoselov] The reason for this is that currently the USSR Armed Forces possesses approximately 42 million hectares of land. And today the question of how the local soviets will give out their land is a very heated one: Will the USSR Armed Forces pay for it, how much, etc. On one hand, if the Army is required to pay for the land like everyone else, then its whole budget will go for that. But on the other hand, payment is necessary—because then the military will not take more land than it needs and there will be more responsibility. I believe that in this situation we need varied forms: One value for the construction of housing and dachas, and another for military areas.

[Nikolayev] Will leadership of the Army from the center be retained?

[Novoselov] Of course. If each leads the military in his own republic, rayon, or city, what will that do to the Armed Forces? Any military conflict under modern conditions simply does not allow a minute of time to conduct any kind of negotiations. And no one is insured against conflicts. Today our country has normal relations with practically all countries of the world. But what will happen if any state should change to a more reactionary government? After all, France and China did not sign the agreement on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, which, incidentally, Pakistan and Israel will soon possess. And the number of such countries is growing. As a sovereign state we should know how to

defend our people, and we can only do that through the presence of a unified center.

CPSU's Baklanov Views Military Conversion Process

*PM2610154590 Moscow IAN PRESS RELEASE
in English (undated) pp 12-16*

[Interview with Oleg Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, conducted by weekly GLASNOST; place and date not given: "Problems of conversion"; reprinted from 4 October 1990 issue of GLASNOST]

[Text] The Presidential Council of the USSR has considered the government's programme for the conversion of the military industry to civilian production. The programme covers a period of up to 1995. Taking part in the discussion were members of the government, scientists, heads of scientific and industrial associations, directors of enterprises and research institutes. Oleg Baklanov, Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee, also participated. In his interview below with the weekly GLASNOST Baklanov comments the results of the meeting.

Baklanov: Conversion is a very complicated question which should be considered as a complex of tasks and problems. Our approach to this problem is based on the striving to change over from the overarmament of the world to the reduction of military spending within the limits of reasonable sufficiency. Gorbachev set forth this idea almost two years ago when he spoke before the United Nations.

GLASNOST: What has been done since then?

Baklanov: Enough, I would say. Though there were also disappointments, which is the result of the absence of any experience in this field both in the Soviet Union and in other countries and corresponding legislation. Our efforts sometimes failed to reach the goal set. This was all the more true as far as the social protection of the workers in the arms-manufacturing industry are concerned. Nevertheless, there have been perceptible changes in the picture of military production.

GLASNOST: In what way, if it is no secret?

Baklanov: In 1988 60 percent of the defense industry capacities were used for military purposes. The figure has now gone down to 50, with the rest half being used for civilian production.

The programme which we discussed provides for the growth of civilian production at accelerated rates in the military sector. In 1991-1995 the volume of such production is to reach 270,000 million rubles' worth, or twice as much as in the current five-year plan period. The released industrial and research capacities will be used for the manufacture of equipment for the agro-industrial complex, light industry, the medical and communications industries. The intellectual forces of the defense complex participate in a number of science intensive projects.

GLASNOST: There is an inner logic to the process of conversion. But this process is closely connected with such notions as mutual security and parity.

Baklanov: We should not do anything to upset the present strategic parity. This year we have cut defense spending from 76,000 to 70,000 million rubles and plan further cuts next year. How did the American side reciprocate? Only by talk in a kind tone thus far. Last year the US spent for defense upwards of 300,000 million dollars and in 1990—around 306,000 million dollars. Time will show how the situation will develop next year.

GLASNOST: So, there is ground to think well.

Baklanov: And this should concern not in the last turn certain talks which are sometimes conducted without an account of probable consequences. Only the president's prudent position allows to keep the problem in balance.

GLASNOST: Some suggested that the programme which was submitted for discussion should be rejected and a new one elaborated. If this programme really that bad?

Baklanov: I tried to persuade others that the rejection of this programme will only delay the solution of questions connected with the social protection of the workers of the plants subject for conversion. With conversion in its second year already, enterprises must have specific programmes for re-orientation. Furthermore, in connection with the coming army reform it is necessary to make certain structural changes in it which would most fully reflect the process of democratization and also advances in science and technology.

Participants in the discussion pointed to the need to streamline the efforts of defense industry work collectives to the development of civil aviation, shipbuilding, space research and communications, broadly using international cooperation.

GLASNOST: What is your opinion of the conversion programme?

Baklanov: It should be adopted. It is open to new ideas, and life will make its corrections. This programme should agree with the programme of the transition to the market.

GLASNOST: Highly skilled workers and a powerful detachment of Soviet science are engaged in the arms-manufacturing industry. What is to be done about them?

Baklanov: This is a very sensitive issue. We need a state programme also because it will make provisions for worker re-training as well as provide measures for the social protection of the workers at the plants subject for conversion. At present about 300,000 skilled workers are retrained every year. Upwards of 300,000 specialists have taken up jobs with cooperatives and joint ventures in the past two years. If this process is not stopped, the government-run industry will collapse. Is it right that a worker of a state-run plant receives only 10 to 15

kopecks per ruble's worth of output, while a worker of a cooperative receives up to 50 kopecks?

GLASNOST: Only recently many thought that the defense industry will "flood" us with refrigerators, domestic electronic appliances and other commodities.

Baklanov: This is a very dangerous delusion. It was set forth by economists who have a very poor idea of the realities. The possibilities of the defense industries are not unlimited. Even now defense industry enterprises annually put out 40,000 million rubles' worth of consumer goods, including more than 11 million TV sets, around 7 million freezers and refrigerators and almost 6.5 million washing machines.

GLASNOST: What about the opinion of those scientists and politicians who contend that the military-industrial complex has made the state bankrupt?

Baklanov: Lack of discipline, permissiveness and poor management—this is what has brought the Soviet economy where it is today—an impasse. Only official annual losses are estimated in the economy at approximately 30,000 million rubles. The deliveries of armaments and military hardware to the Defense Ministry cost as much. The assets of the defense industry make up a mere 6.4 per cent of the overall industrial assets of the country. Can an industry with such a limited potential right away flood the market with consumer goods, including hi-tech appliances?

GLASNOST: How then can the situation on the consumer market be improved?

Baklanov: There is "mad" money in circulation. But we want to adjust our economy to this money. We won't have the time to manufacture enough to convert this money into commodities. We are to think of a way to tie it.

GLASNOST: Conversion is both difficult and costly. Does science know a way of making the now useless military equipment useful again?

Baklanov: Such a task has been posed. Part of the scrapped armoured carriers as well as various kinds of movers and cross-country vehicles are now used in the economy. At the same time, we and the U.S. have chemical weapons. Their elimination is being negotiated. Should such weapons be eliminated or turned into synthetic panty hose? We don't know yet the technology of doing this. We are not used to such notion as industrial secret and take it abstractly. The foreigners who conduct talks with us will never say a word which can give us a clue about a certain technology if they have not been paid.

GLASNOST: Won't swiftly developing conversion lead to negative results?

Baklanov: I understand your concern. To prevent this we should always bear in mind such notions as national security, strategic equilibrium and economic independence.

I believe that our position is correct.

Baltic Republics

FRG Hosts Discussions on Baltic Independence

PM0111143190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Oct 90 Union Edition p 5

[Report by A. Balandin under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Correspondents on World Events": "Discussion at the Friedrich Nauman Foundation. Mutual Respect in an Unofficial Setting"]

[Text] Bonn—In Margarethenhof, one of the picturesque spots near Bonn, there is a small building somehow reminiscent of a knight's estate. The Free Democratic Party of Germany's Friedrich Nauman Foundation has taken up residence in this well cared for house and the buildings adjacent to it.

It is a unique political club which organizes meetings and talks with politicians, journalists, and representatives of economic and financial circles. The foundation also holds seminars on various topical domestic and foreign policy questions, cultural events, and exhibitions. Contacts have been organized on an international level.

One of these events was a foundation sitting with the agenda: "The question of the Baltic republics' independence as an international problem on the way toward a peaceful European order." Over three days participants in the sitting, to which representatives of all three Baltic republics, the CPSU Central Committee, and research institutes were invited, discussed problems of the developing relationship between the republics and the USSR's central authorities and the economic consequences of the declaration of independence by the Baltic republics.

These are complex questions giving rise to many keen debates in our country and not yet unequivocally answered. It was all the more interesting to watch and listen how both sides would discuss these problems on an international level. And this was exactly the aim pursued by the conference organizers from the F. Nauman Foundation.

The main reports on the problems mentioned were presented by V. Aleksandrov, consultant to the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and Professor M. Wolfson, chairman of the Latvian Parliament's foreign policy committee.

I will not start quoting the specific arguments to which both speakers resorted to defend their positions. At present a whole range of consultations and preliminary talks on these problems is taking place both in Moscow and in the three Baltic states' capitals. The speeches of V. Aleksandrov and M. Wolfson to some extent repeated what has already been said.

Something else impresses. During a short break it was possible to see Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Russians, and Germans talking to each other calmly over a cup of coffee without any abrupt gesticulations or offensive words. There were, of course, relatively heated

arguments as well. But everything was within the bounds of good manners. The debaters agreed with each other on some things while on others their positions were directly opposed, but the main thing—mutual respect—was perceptible. But all it took for all this to disappear was for them to get back to the "official table." Harsh accusations, biting derision, rejoinders interrupting the speaker, the nonacceptance of each other's positions. It was getting to the stage that the event's hosts were having to calm the arguers down, smoothing ruffled feathers. The question involuntarily arose: Why can we talk to each other calmly in an unofficial setting and what are we seeking to prove in official debates and why? Or is it the fear of losing standing in the public's eyes with "soft approaches?"

I will not take it upon myself to draw parallels between the conference held in Margarethenhof and the talks in Moscow, but if the same approaches are there too, then obviously we will be a long time searching for a point of mutual contact.

This was understood by the organizers who strove to introduce a constructive note into the course of the polemics. Such an exchange of opinions is useful in any case, they declared. Professor Wolfson agreed with this.

"In Moscow they unfortunately do not treat us as equal partners," he stated. "Certainly much depends on who specifically conducts the talks. I think even such a confrontation of views will be of benefit. The radicalization occurring in republics alarms us all."

"There is much to dispute in the Balts' arguments," V. Aleksandrov said, "but there are also elements of constructiveness which require study and understanding. The more often we meet on various levels, the sooner we will come to a mutually acceptable solution."

Prunskiene Protests Joint-Stock Company Move

LD3110210490 Moscow TASS in English 2048 GMT
31 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius October 31 TASS—Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene's letter to Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov was made public here today. The letter deals with the Soviet government's resolution to transform state enterprises of Union subordination, located in Lithuania, into joint-stock companies.

The letter states, on behalf of the Lithuanian Government, that this resolution by the Soviet Government "is at odds with the provisional fundamental law and other laws of the Lithuanian Republic. It is invalid on the territory of the republic and represents a new attempt by the USSR to interfere in its economy."

Several days after the Lithuanian Parliament adopted the act on restoring the independent Lithuanian state on

March 11, 1990, deputies passed a decision that union enterprises on Lithuanian territory fall under the republic's jurisdiction.

The letter describes the publication of the resolution as a departure from the desire to begin talks.

But there are other views, too, in Lithuania on this score.

"Stripping the state of its monopoly in industry is an imperative of the times," Vladimir Kasatkin, general director of the Kaunas production association Pjargale and president of the Lithuanian Association of Free Entrepreneurs, told TASS.

Kasatkin regards the move quite natural, although he thinks there are many unclear points as regards its implementation. He strongly believes that the resolution does not undercut Lithuania's interests and sovereignty.

Explosion Occurs at Soviet Memorial in Lithuania

*LD3110234490 Vilnius International Service
in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 31 Oct 90*

[Text] It has become clear that an attempt was made to blow up a large monument to Soviet soldiers killed in the Second World War in a rural place called Salduve, near Siauliai. The monument stands in a remote spot. Recently it has not often been visited, so the marks of the explosion were noticed by chance.

The memorial at the village of Salduve consists of three figures standing back to back and representing military people of various historical epochs. Considerable damage has been done to the legs of the figures, but the memorial still stands firm nevertheless. The sections of Lithuania's political parties in Siauliai condemned such action as harmful to Lithuania as it seeks negotiations with the Kremlin.

A statement published in the press has been signed by representatives of the Lithuanian Sajudis, the Tautininkai Association, the Christian Democrat, Social Democrat, Communist and Independence parties.

As we have reported earlier, a similar and more successful attempt was made at Kryzkalnis at the beginning of October. Then there was a danger that a huge monument to the Soviet Army might collapse after the explosion. It was removed by the decision of the local municipality. On that earlier occasion the Lithuanian leadership denounced such illegal actions. Both incidents are being investigated.

Former Communists Barred From Independence Party

*PM3110145190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1*

[PRAVDA-TASS report under general heading: "Telephone, Teletype, Telefax"]

[Text] Vilnius—Former members of the Lithuanian Communist Party do not have the right to become

members of the Independence Party—the republic's new political force. Today the Independence Party has 600 members. Lithuanian parliamentary deputy V. Čepaitis, one of the creators of "Sajudis" and a supporter of radical actions on the path to independence, has been elected its chairman.

Vilnius District Designated for Foreign Missions

*91P50012B Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Oct 90 Second Edition p 3*

[Report by S. Yuryev: "Vacate the Premises"]

[Text] By decree of the city council, an entire district of residential houses in a prestigious section of Vilnius will be turned over to diplomats. According to the deputies' plans, this area will house foreign representatives in Lithuania.

True, at present these houses are occupied by local residents, and, in order to prepare these future missions for their new owners, the current residents must be provided with housing in other locations. This situation has elicited special interest in the capital. Malicious from some, sympathetic from others. The fact of the matter is, that some of these comfortable residences are occupied by families of former prominent party and state figures of the republic.

Conflict Within Lithuanian Soviet Army Detailed

*91P50012C Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH
in Russian 26 Sep 90 pp 4-5*

[Baltiya-LETA report: "Baltic Chronicle"]

[Text] The newspaper GIMTASIS KRASTAS [NATIVE LAND] published this conversation with a Soviet Army officer, who, for completely understandable reasons, did not wish to be identified.

"I can say with certainty that the majority of the junior officers and warrant officers do not share the views of their commanding officers. First of all, when Sajudis initially started talking about separation from the Soviet Union, we in fact backed Yedinstvo. However, when the Russian and other Soviet republics declared their independence, we started to understand that the restoration of nationhood was a natural process. But we do not have the right to speak openly about this. It could be harmful to one's military career. This is why we are silent when they march us out rank and file at the regular meetings of the "platformists". In a fit of temper you curse those people who feel compelled to stand with placards reading "Nationalism—No!". For up to now no one in Lithuania has laid even a finger on us. True, the graffiti on the fences calling for the occupiers to leave make one feel a little uncomfortable. However, just tell me, where, indeed, are we liked? And what are we liked for? For Tbilisi or Azerbaijan?

"Our commanders are making every effort to provoke a new wave of hatred from the population. What kind of

mutual understanding can we speak of, if the chief of our formation's political department, Colonel Valeriy Shurupov, regales us in front of the ranks for half an hour with obscene anecdotes about Landsbergis and Prunskiene. He is not even embarrassed by the fact that there are Lithuanians among the soldiers. They are trying to suggest to us: look how bad Lithuania and its leaders are.

"The officers are also worried these days about issues of everyday life. For example, we are taking our troops out of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the GDR, later from the Baltic, Moldova, the Caucasus, the Ukraine and Belorussia. What will happen when the huge armada of troops returns to Russia? Who will feed them, where will people live?" the Soviet officer asks.

Professionals Seeking To Leave Lithuania

91P50012A Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH
in Russian 26 Sep 90 pp 4-5

[Baltiya-LETA report: "Baltic Chronicle"]

[Text] SOGLASIYE, the Sajudis newspaper, writes in its editorial commentary: "The number of those desiring to leave Lithuania by many times exceeds the contrary flow. And the ones leaving are not the starving, barefooted migrant-norm workers without kith or kin, but specialists from leading branches of industry and agriculture, the technical and humanities intelligentsia, people who are sufficiently well-off and comfortably settled in Lithuania and who have set down roots and raised their children. Judging by answers elicited from officials, it appears that, for the present, there is not a single agency, public organization or cooperative which is undertaking to provide concrete assistance to people in changing their place of residence. And even if they are collecting data on such consumers from both sides of the Soviet-Lithuanian border, it is only for use as an argument in the dispute or for use as material for negotiations, putting it more succinctly, for their own political aims."

Narva Suspends Republic's Economic Border Law

LD3110144490 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT
31 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveriyan]

[Text] Tallinn October 31 TASS—The city council of Narva, an Estonian city that neighbours on the Russian federation, has decided to suspend the law "On the Economic Border of the Estonian Republic" on the territory of the city.

The decision was taken following an analysis of the possible consequences of the application of the above-mentioned law for the economy and people of the city which actually lives side-by-side with Ivangorod on the Russian side.

The economic border law adopted by the Estonian parliament took effect last week. It gave rise to protests

from people in the republic's border areas at the initial stage of the discussion of the bill in parliament because it contained articles concerning the establishment of not only customs control over the movement of goods but also control over the movement of citizens across the republican border.

"We do not object to the control of goods and documents of persons accompanying the goods," emphasised Vladimir Chuikin, chairman of the Narva City Council. "But we are against checking the identity papers of those who are not connected with the transportation of goods".

The law does not forbid border guard personnel to do this, which is indicative of plans to establish a state border regime on the line that separates Estonia from the neighbouring republics. It was emphasized that that would be fraught with serious negative economic and social consequences for Narva and Ivangorod.

The establishment of a border regime unilaterally gives rise to concern among the deputies of the regional council of Leningrad region which neighbours on Estonia from the east.

In a statement sent to the Estonian parliament and government, the deputies maintain that matters concerning a legal regime on the line separating the Russian federation from Estonia should be considered bilaterally during talks.

Leningrad regional council deputies believe that the adoption of the economic border law illustrates an intention to isolate Estonia from the Soviet Union in the near future.

Estonian, USSR Supreme Soviet Experts Meet

LD3110210690 Tallin Domestic Service in Estonian
1800 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Excerpts] [First announcer] Today another meeting took place in Moscow of experts of Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet and the USSR Supreme Soviet, within the framework of preparatory consultations for the talks to restore Estonia's state independence. [passage omitted]

[Second announcer] Advig Kiris, head of the legal department at the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, will sum up the meeting.

[Kiris] Today it was state defense, the organization of the future Republic of Estonia army, and problems in the formation of the army which were deliberated on. Naturally issues are complex considering the present difficult state of the Soviet Army and also the situation which has developed in our Republic with conscription into the Soviet Army and with organization of the Army.

If one is to talk about results, then I believe that we succeeded in explaining our endeavors better to the expert group on the other side. They understood our

stances, and I believe they became more seriously conscious of them. I also believe that it was kind of a little step forward in preparations for future meetings of delegations. [passage omitted]

[First announcer] At the same meeting an agreement was reached that the next meeting will take place around 15 November in Moscow. Foreign policy, diplomatic relations, and participation in international organizations will then be under discussion. Probably one of the working meetings will also take place in Tallinn. [passage omitted]

Estonian Government Discusses Economic Issues

*LD3110190790 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian
1500 GMT 31 Oct 90*

[Excerpts] Today's republican government session was chaired by Edgar Savisaar. [passage omitted]

Some new procurement prices will be established from 1 November by a government resolution. From tomorrow these prices will be 420 rubles (R) for a tonne of milk, R3,780 for cattle, and R3,420 for pigs. [passage omitted].

The government discussed several issues connected with the economic border. For financing the guarding of the border, a fund for the Estonian economic border was set up. This is made up of fines, donations, and other means. Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar emphasized that the economic border must be closed by 12 November. In the new year it is planned to use for guarding the border young men in the alternative service who have gone through special training.

The government also discussed other issues and abolished a 1988 decree which envisaged restrictions in relations with Estonians living abroad.

Goods Scarce in Estonia Despite Price Rise

*914D0023A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2*

[Article by L. Levitskiy: "Estonia: Prices Rose but Stores Are Empty"]

[Text] Tallinn—I want to say something to readers who are concerned about the inevitable future increase in prices. In Estonia since 15 October the price of milk and dairy products has gone up 2.7 times; the price of meat has increased 2.4 times; and the price of flour, cereals, and bread has gone up 2.7 times. That is on the average. The details will get clearer later if the store shelves fill with something. For now they are just as empty as they were before 15 October. I was told to buy meat, butter, vegetable oil, rice, flour, and cottage cheese. I only managed to buy milk and cottage cheese without a delay. A bottle of milk costs 47 kopeks, 200 grams of butter 1.4 rubles [R], a packet of cottage cheese 45 kopeks, and half a kilo of boneless beef R6.2.

From force of habit I stopped at the press house for lunch. A vegetable salad, a half-portion of cabbage soup, goulash, and a fruit compote did me out of almost R4. But the food did not taste any better for all that. What was the outcome of the steep, "immediate" jump in prices? The authors of the concept claimed that things would become more expensive but plentiful; but so far the claims have failed to be realized. This is not only my conclusion. The Tallinn Gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] discussed the way trade was organized in the city. This is how the VECHERNIY TALLINN article about the meeting ends: "We did not get an answer to our question of who benefitted from the increase in the price of meat. Nobody gained from it: neither the producers, nor the processors, nor the sellers. We have not even mentioned the buyers. Could this have been done only to add to revenue?"

I want to note here that I am not writing this to attack the Government of Estonia for its policy of sovereignty based on market relations, or for its struggle with the center and its desire to leave the Union, to separate from it using its own borders, its own money, or high prices. I am interested in the internal importance of prices rather than their external role. Estonia was the first to decisively remove prices from state control. Therefore its experience is also the first lesson for all of us.

What did I learn from it personally? I learned not to believe claims that the road to the market economy goes through high prices. No price increase can replace complete economic reform or a refurbishing of the entire price mechanism. It is silly to expect the balance between prices, goods, and wages to even itself out as long as we have monopolized property and an unrealistic salary level.

This past spring all subsidies for the production and sale of potatoes, vegetables, and fruits were canceled in Estonia. Everything is ruled now by contractual prices which exceed the former state prices by several times. What are the results? Sales of cabbage, carrots, and tomatoes did not grow. Major sovkhoses [state farms] located near the capital have even decreased production. Newspapers write incessantly about stores that refuse to accept cheaper vegetables and fruits from other regions.

They told me openly in the department of prices that it was unreasonable to cancel subsidies for potatoes and vegetables as was done in April. Judging from the stores and markets, any effect of the cancellation is hardly noticeable even in October. More or less decent potatoes cost about a ruble a kilo. The increase in cigarette, beer, and soft drink prices did not produce any results either. Plants are in no hurry to increase production of beer that sells at double the price. As of 15 October they canceled subsidies for the production of milk and meat. Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar explained the need for this measure to the Supreme Soviet deputies this way:

"The government aims to balance the supply and demand at the food market; we want to do away with the

shadow economy, to cut down on uncontrolled exports out of the republic, and to eliminate any unfairness in the consumption of milk and meat products...."

"To protect" and "to re-distribute" again instead of "to increase." The jump in prices by-passes the producer again. Did the farmer gain anything from the fact that I am going to pay R9 to R12 or even five times that price for a kilo of beef? Very little. Procurement prices rose by 17.4 percent only. The retail price of milk went up 2.7 times but the procurement price rose only by 14.1 percent.

Government experts insist that well-to-do people can afford food price increases—they can suffer for the sake of future abundance. But the people in the risk groups will be paid a compensatory allowance of R30 per person a month and that will enable them to eat even better than before.

The people in risk groups number, all in all, over 700,000—over 40 percent of the population. Lists of people eligible for the allowance have begun to be composed. It would probably have been more honest to pay the first allowance before the prices went up—not everybody has some savings. But this is only a detail, though a rather painful one. The general problem is much more sensitive.

Doctor of economics V. Nemchinov published some convincing results of his research. According to the results, given the same selection of foods, expenditures on food for low-income families will increase by 88 percent compared with January. It is clear that an allowance of R30 will not help maintain the same selection of foods. On top of that, the research does not allow for an increase in the prices of flour, cereals, and bread. Housewives' tricks have acquired a character that is almost humiliating. Low- and average-income families will simply have to eat worse.

How are people taking it? Have they sadly reconciled themselves to the inevitable? Let me respond with an example. The price of newspapers rose threefold. Fares for public transportation doubled. This caused indignation from the prime minister himself and he demanded a return to the old costs. Leaders of the publishers' council had a simple explanation for why they did not do this: If they do not raise their workers' salaries, the newspapers will cease to come out at all, the street cars will stop running.

That is true also. No other things in our life are so interwoven as prices. The moment some of them rise, others catch the growth virus imperceptibly and then follows the inevitable response to this swift chain reaction—an official or hidden salary raise. Newspaper typesetters and street-car drivers were not the first to do it. The example was set as early as this spring by the administrators themselves: Expenditures for the bureaucracy grew by R20 million a year. They raised the

salaries of people working in culture, health care, education, and science. The employees of the republic's industrial enterprises had considerable salary increases. Union plants lagged behind somewhat, but they are trying to catch up too.

It must be that most of the managers just did not believe in such food price increases. But when they caught on to it they rushed to the Moscow ministries to beg for additional wage funds.

"They have waited too long," comments I. Shepelevich, manager of the plant imeni Pegelman. "We managed to raise salaries by about 30 percent and our profits allow us to add to that."

They managed to find the money for their workers in time and without any undue fuss at the Narva Baltiyets plant. Miners and power station workers in the North-East have so far received only a temporary increase after they threatened a general strike. The uncontrolled price increase caused an uncontrolled rise in salaries. They are using the best of their inventiveness, their abilities, and fearlessness at industrial enterprises, institutes, and offices to find ways to reimburse people for the compensatory allowance the government has failed to pay. As one manager said, it is an anti-government measure but the government itself has provoked it. I called ten enterprises—let us say, five Russian-speaking and five Estonian-speaking ones. With a varying degree of sincerity they all admitted that they were helping people during this difficult time. The amount of aid varied from R40 to R140 a month. On top of that they distributed meal coupons or reimbursed some of the cost of meals.

As the economic experts see it, a one percent raise in prices inevitably entails 1.5 percent inflation. But nobody has yet taken it upon himself to calculate the inflation rate for Estonia. Its first consequences will be seen only in a few months.

"Are you not afraid of inflation?" I asked the deputy finance minister. "The government program did not foresee such a rise in salaries."

"I think that the enterprises will not give away too much money this year and they will not be able to do it next year because of the new tax system."

But still, life is much easier for those who are "closer to the factories." It is much harder for teachers, doctors, and all those people who are paid from the republic budget. Nobody has any money for them: neither the government, nor the industries. That was the subject of a bitter open letter signed by teachers at several Tallinn schools.

I do not know whether the government hopes which are tied to skyrocketing price increases will be justified. But will they bring Estonia to a market economy, market relations, and wealth? I doubt that. However unusual this measure is, it still belongs to the familiar arsenal of command economy. For that reason it is most likely to

be just as "efficient." Soaring prices and salaries cannot be endless or limitless. But the fall may be bottomless.

Disagreement Arises Over Estonian Armed Forces

*LD3010185490 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT
30 Oct 90*

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandras Budrys]

[Text] Moscow October 30 TASS—Expert groups from the Soviet Parliament and Government and Estonia on Tuesday held regular consultations on defence, state security and border protection.

The groups were headed by head of the Estonian Parliament's legal protection department Advig Kiris and Soviet Parliament adviser Yuriy Tikhomirov.

A Soviet Parliament spokesman told TASS that during the two-hour meeting, the Estonian side said it wanted its own armed forces. According to Estonian representatives, the republic is a neutral state, but its neutrality should be protected.

The sides also discussed Estonian young people's military service on the republic's territory or its replacement by labour service in accordance with the Estonian law on alternative service.

The Soviet side reminded the Estonians of the numerous difficulties they might face if they chose to set up their own armed forces and said some Estonian proposals were unacceptable. The sides also differed on ensuring the strategic security of Estonia and the Soviet Union.

After the meeting, Kiris told TASS that he hoped the sides would agree on Estonian citizens' service exclusively on the republic's territory. Official Soviet and Estonian delegations are to take a final decision on the issue, he said.

Expert groups will hold their next meeting in mid-November, when they are expected to discuss foreign policy and Estonia's participation in the work of international organisations.

Naval Officers Protest Tallinn Residency Law

*91UM0057A Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII
in Russian 5 Oct 90 p 1*

[Article by B. Mayorov under the rubric "Alarm in the Air": "Officers Picketing?"]

[Text] Officers of the rear services at the Tallinn Naval Base have demanded the "restoration of democratic laws" in the capital of Estonia.

A resolution directed at Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet, criticized the decision of the Tallinn City Soviet to limit the number of residency permits issued to servicemen. According to the sailors, this legislative act infringes on the rights of the

Russian-speaking population and aggravates the situation in the city. The resolution stresses that the decision of the city soviet of the capital of Estonia "compels the servicemen to defend their honor and elementary human rights by other options and means."

A MOLODEZH ESTONII correspondent attempted to find out what this phrase meant. According to A. Polyakov, chairman of the council of the officers' assembly, the servicemen are thinking about organizing demonstrations and pickets of officers in front of the city soviet. However, there is no unity among them on how to fight the issue. In addition, such actions require the sanction of the command, and that has not yet been received. In short, the officers are at a crossroads for the time being....

Estonian Independence Party Supports Coalition

*LD0111112890 Moscow TASS in English 1030 GMT
1 Nov 90*

[Text] Tallinn November 1 TASS—The Council of the Estonian Party of National Independence decided to begin talks with representatives of other political forces of the Republic to create a new coalition government. The party does not rule out participation in it.

The only condition is "free and democratic elections, which are possible in Estonia only after the withdrawal of Soviet occupation troops", according to one of its leaders, Yu. Adams. On behalf of the party, Adams assured that everything will be done to ensure that elections to soviets will never again be held in Estonia.

The Party of National Independence, which was illegal for years, proposes restoring the bourgeois Estonian republic. A public opinion poll, held in September, indicates that the party is supported by 19 to 27 per cent of those polled, depending on the region.

Its growing popularity is attributed to the acute crisis caused by political instability and economic decline.

Estonian Miners Disagree With Union Decision

*LD3110164390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 31 Oct 90*

[Text] Estonian miners have called for restoration of the existing trade union and opposed the creation of a new industrial trade union, thus expressing their disagreement with the decision of the Second Miners' Congress in Donetsk which adopted the decision to set up an independent trade union.

Correction to Estonian Ban on Independence Party

WA3110173190

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Estonian Ban on Independence Party Criticized," published in the 18 October Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on page 73. The headline should read: "Estonian Party Call for Ban on Communists Criticized."

Nordic Council Group Meets Latvia's Gorbunovs

LD0111001290 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian
1830 GMT 18 Oct 90

[Excerpt] A wide-ranging delegation from the countries of the Nordic Council has been visiting Riga. Today they got acquainted with the work of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia and listened to accounts from its leader, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, as well as several deputies, on efforts to create an independent Latvian state as a subject of international law and to participate again in the culture and economy of Europe. There was discussion of the desire for closer co-operation with the northern neighbours. Ecology was a particular subject of discussion throughout the day in meetings with representatives of organisations and movements. [passage omitted]

Godmanis Presents Citizenship, Property Proposals

LD3110202690 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian
1830 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Ivars Godmanis today presented, in the name of the government, a document requesting the Supreme Council to urgently solve political questions of principle, specifically the question of citizenship in the Republic of Latvia and the question of the return of property nationalized in 1940 and in later years. Clarity is necessary in these matters in order to reduce the political and internationalities tension and to accelerate the urgent economic reforms.

The government takes the following standpoint on these questions: on the question of citizenship, both the recognition of all those citizens who were permanently resident in the Republic of Latvia on 4 May 1990, and the recognition of citizenship of the Republic of Latvia only for those persons who were citizens of the republic on 16 June 1940 and their direct descendants are unacceptable. The government requests a compromise variant to be found, and in his view this is possible on the basis of a 1919 law of the Republic of Latvia on the principles of citizenship.

On handing back nationalized property to its former owners or their heirs, the government requests a varied approach to immovable property in the countryside, industrial enterprises and residential buildings in towns, and desires that two principles be observed: first, that what is to be handed back is only that property which has been actually preserved; second, property is only to be given back to a former owner who is prepared to manage it and can realistically do so. Payment of compensation for property expropriated 50 years ago is not possible because the Republic of Latvia does not have such financial resources.

Latvian Constitutional Changes Provoke Misgivings

PM0111112590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by I. Litvinova under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Correspondents on World Events": "Amendments Made to Constitution"]

[Text] Riga—A record number of laws was adopted 23 October in the Latvian Parliament. They are mainly associated with amendments and additions to the constitution.

The day before the plenary sitting the People's Front faction demanded its deputies' compulsory participation in that day's parliamentary business. The most important Supreme Soviet step since the adoption of the Declaration of Sovereignty was announced. It was the decision... on a quorum. Henceforth, for laws to be adopted in Latvia it is sufficient that a majority of deputies participating in a vote, but not less than one-third of the total number of Latvian people's deputies, vote for them. The constitution can be amended if not less than two-thirds of deputies participating in a vote raise their hands in favor. It is sufficient that this number exceeds half of the total number of people's elected representatives of Latvia.

"This decision will enable us to move forward more quickly on the path to independence," Janis Dinevich, chairman of the People's Front faction, thinks. "I refute the accusation that this step is undemocratic—there is similar experience in world legislative practice."

"Formally we have the right to refer to Western legislative experience," Sergey Dimanis, leader of the "Ravno-praviye" [Equality] faction, expressed a different viewpoint, "but in these democracies a mechanism to protect the rights of the minority in legislature has been worked out perfectly and operates perfectly. For instance, the minority can ask for a referendum on the most important laws. But we are simply cutting the 'dissenters' off from adopting decisions and are making yet another step toward a new totalitarianism."

Having removed the "obstacle" in the shape of the opposition, the legislature adopted a number of very important laws in a matter of minutes. Specifically, all possessions on Latvia's territory have been declared its property. Latvia's laws and also the international treaties it concludes determine the property rights of other states—this refers to the Soviet Union too—and of their individuals and legal entities in Latvia. Changes on directorate of public prosecution questions mean that henceforth the highest supervision over law observance on the territory of the Latvian Republic is exercised by its prosecutor general. In particular, people convicted by the Supreme Court, as A. Endzinsh, chairman of the commission explained, can no longer appeal to the USSR Supreme Court. The last resort for solving domestic disputes is the Latvian Republic Gosarbitrazh

[State Board of Arbitration], which is to be guided primarily by the Declaration of Independence.

Observers note that the adopted decisions will have the most unpredictable consequences since the legislature has been practically deprived of a political center and is swiftly moving toward the most radical wing of the republic's political spectrum.

Latvian People's Front Suffers 'Disillusionment'

PM0111103990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Irina Litvinova under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Leaving People's Front"]

[Text] Riga—Latvia's mass media are discussing the reasons for the disillusionment felt by a number of People's Front members with this organization.

The recent Third Latvian People's Front (LPF) Congress provided the catalyst for this process. In the opinion of Inta Upmatsis, who was quite recently deputy chairman of the LPF Board, radical forces succeeded at the congress in achieving something for which they had been striving for two years. Upmatsis reckons that non-Latvians may interpret the statements about "re-emigration" as possible deportation or punishment for their involvement in the "colonization" of Latvia. As for Latvians, in Upmatsis' opinion, there will not be many of them announcing their official withdrawal from the LPF. They will most likely merely suspend their activity within this organization. Upmatsis said that he cannot remain on the board because he does not understand what position the LPF currently holds within the Latvian political spectrum.

Eglis Radzinsh said that the LPF is not the organization he joined two years ago. "Originally this front was indeed a movement uniting the people and aiming to attain independence, but the front is now a sociopolitical organization that no longer expresses the opinion of the entire people. Whereas it was previously said that the front's main slogan was a free man in a free society, that is no longer the case today." Radzinsh said that he is leaving the LPF.

Latvia Closes Space Objects Tracking Center

LD0111144590 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT
1 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaitsev]

[Text] Riga November 1 TASS—The Kuldigsky District Council of People's Deputies in Latvia decided to close the space objects tracking centre at Skrunda settlement, 130 kilometers from Riga, capital of Latvia on November 20.

The radar station in Skrunda is one of eight stations deployed in areas along the USSR's border, which are

prone to come under a missile attack. The radar system provides the Soviet Union's military-political leadership with prompt and trustworthy information about the possible threat of an attack and the missile-space situation.

The local authorities justify their decision by the station's alleged harmful impact on people and the environment and the violation of ecological standards. "These motives have no grounds whatsoever," Soviet Defence Ministry Spokesman Volter Kraskovskiy told TASS TODAY.

"The Soviet Union fixed the maximum permissible level of electromagnetic radiation at 10 microwatts per square centimeter, which is 20 times lower than the international standard. Control measurements made in the area of Skrunda showed levels of only 0.6 microwatts per square centimeter," Kraskovskiy said.

The true reason behind the decision to close the centre was disclosed during a meeting between a group of specialists headed by General Kraskovskiy and members of the Latvian parliamentary commission on defence and internal affairs.

At the meeting, defence ministry officials were told that district deputies acted in accordance with the declaration on restoring Latvia's state independence adopted on May 4. Under this declaration, the USSR Armed Forces are "occupation troops on the territory of the republic". The Soviet president is known to have issued a decree describing the declaration as invalid from the day of its adoption.

Kraskovskiy thinks that a solution to the issue needs to be sought at the government level. He believes that the closure of the radar station in Skrunda will weaken the monitoring of space. "The Soviet Union cannot allow this to happen due to security interests," Kraskovskiy emphasised.

RSFSR

Coverage of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Proceedings

31 Oct Session Reported

LD3110230590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1951 GMT on 31 October, in its "At the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet" program, carries recorded highlights of a 31 October RSFSR Supreme Soviet session held in Moscow.

At 1951 GMT, Silayev proposes Viktor Nikolayevich Khvastun for chairman of the RSFSR state committee for land reform. In answer to a deputy, Silayev says he thinks Khvastun will not deviate from a radical course on land reform. Deputy Khvastun comes to the rostrum and presents his platform, followed by a deputy who says

land reform is crucial to the success of all other reforms and backs Khvastun. Deputy Yaroshenko raises role of rural soviets, and Deputy Aldukov says Khvastun is well qualified and experienced. A vote is taken. The results: 135 for, 47 against.

Next Silayev submits the request of Aleksandr Nikolayevich Streligov to be allowed to resign from his job of administrator of affairs of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and asks for his request to be met. Khasbulatov reads out decision on Streligov arising from his transfer to KGB. This is passed: 130 for, 58 against, 12 abstentions.

Yuriy Vladimirovich Skokov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, then presents a bill on securing the economic foundations of the sovereignty of the Russian Federation. Some of its provisions call for: equal relations with republics; Union property being joint property with the republics; and Ministry of Defense and KGB property not being affected for now. Deputies ask Skokov questions about specific clauses and provisions. An unnamed deputy says Russia must reclaim its property. Another deputy says the law is very important, suggesting that Russia needs to set up an economic border. A second deputy says Gorbachev has taken on loans from France, but Russia will service the debt. Who will be in charge? We are saving the Union, the center is destroying it! The document was adopted as a whole (the vote is not shown).

Next, the deputy chairman of the committee on the Work of the Soviets talks about local soviets and the market.

At 2044 GMT, Silayev, speaking from the rostrum, says that the Council of Ministers regards the 500 days program as starting tomorrow.

He is followed by Khasbulatov who protests the constitutional committee's ruling on jurisdiction. Then a North Ossetia deputy expresses concern about one-sided media coverage of the autonomous republic's affairs.

Skokov Presents Economic Bill

*LD0111015290 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2021 GMT 31 Oct 90*

[Speech by Yuriy Vladimirovich Skokov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 31 October—recorded]

[Text] The law being discussed today has been drawn up with due regard for the views and decisions of this conference and in pursuance of the decisions of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Congress of People's Deputies. The declaration of RSFSR sovereignty requires legal backup if it is to be really implemented, and above all an economic basis is needed to protect the Federation. The government, moreover, sees its role as one of coordinating and forming economic ties and setting up the whole system,

for it is clear that no region can survive as a closed subsystem today. Tendencies toward economic recession are clear to us all. The adoption of Union decisions and laws which cause confusion and create substantial difficulties in the practical work of RSFSR enterprises and regions at this already difficult time demands resolute action. Enterprises, labor collectives, and indeed whole regions, which are in extreme need today of a legal basis and the guarantees and possibilities of legislatively protected actions to back up social and economic reforms, are in a particularly difficult predicament.

The purpose of the law is above all to provide economic guarantees; to create economic guarantees of sovereignty, of the security of property and investments, and the stability of property relations in the transitional period; and the provision of legal guarantees for the implementation of RSFSR laws dealing with the stabilization and functioning of the national economic complex.

What are the special features of the law that is being put before you? The first element is that in this law we have provided for equal relations with other Union republics with due regard being taken of their rights and with unfailing observance of our own rights. Second, we have provided for legal interaction with the republics and regions of the RSFSR. Third, we have acknowledged all-Union property to be nothing but the joint property of the republics, and belonging to one knows not whom. Fourth, in this law we have laid down the right of everyone to their share of the gold reserves and diamond and foreign currency reserves. A legal enactment is provided for in the law to determine how these shares are to be distributed. At the request of many regions—and I currently find myself working with them fairly intensively and thoroughly—we envisage in the decision when the law on privatization is being brought in the creation of a three-tier property management system on the territory of the RSFSR. Next, we envisage protection for the property of a producer of output. This is noted in the decision. The final element is that we believe that in this difficult period no claims should be made against property belonging to the Ministry of Defense or the Committee of State Security for the present, but we are reversing—and request you to support this—the previously adopted decision on the six Union ministries because the last few days have shown that they are taking on just industrial provision and a production oriented function, and leaving to us all the most difficult social problems and all the most difficult issues involving social strains. It cannot go on like this. So if they do not want to do it this way, let us tackle this independently.

Silayev Speaks on 500 Days Plan

*LD3110230890 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2044 GMT 31 Oct 90*

[Speech by Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman, at RSFSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 31 October—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade members of the Supreme Soviet, esteemed comrade chairman: Tomorrow is 1 November 1990 which we have named the day the implementation of the program, in accordance with the Supreme Soviet's decision on the government's report on a plan for practical actions aimed at implementing the program for stabilizing the economy and switching to market relations. With this decision you instructed the Council of Ministers to tackle the implementation of specific measures for the transition to market relations starting from 1 November this year; that is, as of tomorrow.

There is no need to speak about the complex, important, and contradictory events that have taken place over the last three weeks. One can see something positive in the fact that the decision on the main guidelines for stabilizing the economy and switching to market relations, which has been adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, gives a certain degree of economic independence to the republics, as well as a very large degree of independence to the republics in terms of responsibility for the working people's social situation and for the consumer market. At the same time material, currency, and financial resources are being centralized to the limit, thereby depriving us of the possibility to ensure the above. A cycle of struggle between the two programs, which lasted 45 days, has ended. It started with the full support given by Academician Abel Gezovich Aganbegyan to the Shatalin program, and it ended with Aganbegyan's full break with the program in his main guidelines presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Over two weeks, we have signed economic agreements with Belorussia, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan, thereby undertaking obligations for direct economic cooperation in 1991. This is the direct implementation of the main provisions of Chapter 3 of the program. At the same time, the fact that certain republics, including those I have named, are introducing restrictions on the export and import of consumer goods cannot but cause alarm. Only one process remains stable, and this is the further deterioration of the economic situation of both the republic and the country as a whole. Taking all this into account, the Council of Ministers deems it necessary to start counting the time during which the measures aimed at switching to market relations must be implemented from 1 November 1990.

We have already said that the Shatalin program cannot be completely fulfilled, especially its first stabilizing part. We have to replace it with additional and very tough measures for protecting the working people from inflation, price increases, and unemployment. Regarding the primary reforms—such as land reform, housing reform, reforms in the social sphere, de-statization, privatization, and others—they can and will be carried out within the 500 days program. However, for implementing these reforms one has to implement in deeds the republic's sovereign rights declared by the First Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies. You have adopted some of the laws ensuring this; some are to be discussed and adopted

within the next few days. We have submitted a considerable part of the proposals to implement the program, and you have been discussing them, including a package of laws on agrarian reform. The remaining draft laws and decisions will be submitted before 15 November, and finally, by 20-25 November—that is, on the eve of the opening of a Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies—we will submit to you both a program for reviving the countryside and a detailed report on the measures for implementing the program for the transition to market relations as is envisaged in the agenda of the work of the second congress.

I will remind you that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, in his speech on 16 October, spoke about three modes of action that the republic can employ to implement the program—the Union program that had been adopted by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. I will not recall them; you remember them well. We think that the second mode could be the best one, including the setting up of a coalition center with the participation of representatives from every republic and with the active, equal, and equally strong representation of every republic in solving the most important economic, political, and military problems of our state. For the time being this, unfortunately, is not envisaged, and it appears that one has to fight vigorously for this. But in the situation that has arisen—with the congress of deputies proclaiming the Russian Federation's adherence to a union and to strengthening the Union on new principles, primarily on economic relations, and taking into account the realities in which we find ourselves—we think it necessary to take an active position in defending our rights as a sovereign republic and in acting vigorously to ensure these rights are given to us. Consequently—and you will see this in your draft decision—active influence and certain continuous contacts at the level of the supreme soviets, as well as interaction with the president, are needed. I repeat, the active defense and protection of republican interests, the interests of all republics are needed, and this implies also active influence upon the implementation of Chapter 3 of the 500 days program you have approved.

Interaction with Union republics: this was a basis for certain optimism in the beginning when the program was developed, and is a very serious issue. We are completing the signing of the economic sections of agreements for 1991 with the republics. By now we already have nine accords on economic relations for 1991.

But unfortunately there are difficulties here linked to the adoption of decisions by every republic on certain restrictions. It seems to me that active work awaits us not only in the government but also in the Supreme Soviets in defending what has already been achieved and what has been agreed upon, as well as in preparations for signing the political parts of the agreement which will seriously defend the interests of our citizens living in other republics, just as we are prepared to take upon ourselves the responsibility for guaranteeing all the rights and possibilities of social and other conditions for citizens from other republics living in our territory. For this

reason we consider that our most important task is to conclude in November the signing of all the economic agreements, and naturally to actively implement all their points.

Our federation is a particular question. The very recent meeting last week with the leaders of the Union republics in our federation—of autonomous formations, krays, and oblasts—convinced us that our main strength and our main foundation for achieving our basic economic tasks during the implementation of reforms are the regions, republics, and the autonomous formations. Interesting, complicated, but at the same time positive processes are going on; and we feel that without constant cooperation, without the presence of these extensive territories, autonomous formations, and republics of ours in our, let us say, economic apparatus; and with the make-up of the government, it will be difficult for us to take into account the situation by time and place and introduce the appropriate changes and actively cooperate in carrying out our program.

We agreed—and we would like your support—that all our basic territories, all our basic republics and autonomous formations, can become actively involved by creating a state body which could coordinate actions and take into account the features of one region or republic or another, and make the appropriate corrections in the government's action plan. With this aim it seems to us necessary to create within the government—and I stress within and not under the auspices of—a federal economic committee. With this goal we have to organize a few regroupings of forces and possibilities as a whole in our government.

Besides this, there are the recent stormy events and the serious changes in the methods, principles, and approaches to solving the tasks set. Taking into account the fact that before us lies a very complicated and difficult period of work under constant monitoring by the public, constant monitoring by our citizens, and of precision in cooperation and implementing certain stages and periods—and there will be reports by the day and by the month—we also have to make certain other changes in the structure of our government which we will bring to your attention by 15 November.

Thus it seems to us that these measures—organizational, methodological, economic, and political alike—and everything else that is going to be tackled as the work proceeds, will help us, starting tomorrow, to implement the main stages dealing with the reform stages laid down in the program that we have approved. But as I have already said, we shall have to make substantial adjustments connected with compensating for the difficulties arising from inflation, rising prices, and other adverse factors which have effectively squeezed out the initial stage—the period of stabilization. Indeed, we are already making these adjustments and we shall make them, among others, to the draft budget for 1991.

Nevertheless, we believe that this serious formulation of the program—and I repeat, effective action and interaction means the need for regular report-backs to the Supreme Soviet and sometimes to the congress—will enable us to cope with the bulk of the reform program. It has its own distinctive features. It is the Russian part. We believe that we are in a position to fully implement this.

With this in mind we took part in formulating your draft decision. We believe that the decision taken by you today officially gives us the right to enter this stage of proceedings since, as you will recall, the program adopted by you begins, as was envisaged, with the promulgation of a decree, with the adoption of a decision by the legislative body. Thus the adoption by you today of this or another decision specifying that the clock will be started on 1 November will be that first step that we need to take.

Khasbulatov Issues Protest

*LD3110233990 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2059 GMT 31 Oct 90*

[Statement by Deputy Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session on 31 October in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] If I am not mistaken, on 26 October the constitutional supervision committee, chaired by Comrade Alekseyev, adopted a decision which declares as allegedly illegal a decision of the USSR [as heard] Congress of People's Deputies concerning the combining of posts. In connection with this, I declare the most resolute protest to the constitutional committee which is unlawfully interfering in affairs that do not concern it. [applause]

The supreme body of power on the territory of the RSFSR is the Congress of People's Deputies. There are indeed no other bodies capable of administering, regulating, and issuing laws on RSFSR territory. [applause] There is quite a dose of hypocrisy here, you see. Just see what reasons were used to adopt this decision—alleged human rights violations. So now you know. Important party and local soviet officials, holding the highest posts in oblasts, krays, rayons and towns—practically the party and state bureaucracy: these people's rights have been violated by the Congress of People's Deputies! At the same time, has the constitutional supervision committee considered the millions and tens of millions of dispossessed people, destitute and semi-destitute people, rendered defenseless and deprived of rights? [applause] Has the constitutional supervision committee considered that for five and a half years our government has done nothing but squander our national wealth, and that every decision it adopts merely draws further groups of dispossessed people into poverty? Has it considered this? They have not considered this either!

So I think that we cannot remain indifferent to such decisions and must react as befits us, RSFSR deputies and representatives of the people, who consider the

genuine interests and aspirations of the voters who elected us. If I had not made this statement today, I think that people would not have been able to take very seriously the decisions that we are today adopting. Thank you.

Statement on Novaya Zemlya Test

LD0111110490 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1010 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By TASS legislative correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Nov (TASS)—"The underground nuclear explosion of 24 October in the Novaya Zemlya islands was carried out in violation of the declaration of state sovereignty of the Russian Federation." This is said in a statement from the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Russian Federation Council of Ministers circulated here today. It was signed by Ruslan Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Ivan Silayev, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers.

The latest test of nuclear weapons was not agreed upon with the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers or with local authorities, the document stresses.

"The Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR government consider this situation intolerable, protest resolutely, and demand that in the future the RSFSR state sovereignty declaration be complied with unconditionally in all its aspects," the document says.

The legislature's presidium and the republic's government suggest that the USSR president and USSR Supreme Soviet "define without delay the conditions and procedures for cooperation in the preparation, implementation, and checking of the execution of a decision in the sphere of the country's defense and security."

Resolution on 27 Nov Congress

PM0111110290 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On Convening an Extraordinary Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies" signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, in Moscow on 25 October]

[Text] The RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

I. To convene an extraordinary congress of RSFSR People's Deputies 27 November 1990 in Moscow.

II. To propose for inclusion on the agenda of the congress of RSFSR People's Deputies the following questions:

1. On recognizing the credentials of RSFSR People's Deputies elected after the first Congress of People's Deputies.

Credentials Commission report.

2. On the activity of the RSFSR Council of Ministers for the stabilization of the economy and the transition to market relations in the RSFSR.

RSFSR Council of Ministers report.

3. On the program for the rebirth of the Russian countryside and the development of the agro-industrial complex.

RSFSR Council of Ministers report.

Supplementary report by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Social Development of the Countryside, Agrarian Questions, and Food.

Discussion of RSFSR draft laws:

On land reform

On peasant (farmer) farming

On social policy in the countryside and the revival of the Russian countryside.

4. On the RSFSR Constitution (Basic Law). On the work of the Constitutional Commission.

Constitutional Commission Report.

5. Organizational Questions.

R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, RSFSR House of Soviets, 25 October 1990

RSFSR To Get 'Action' on 500 Days Program

LD3110180790 Moscow World Service in English
1600 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] The Russian Federation's Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Filshin has told the independent news agency INTERFAX that the parliament and the government of the largest Soviet republic are determined to begin as of Thursday getting action on the program for improving the economy within 500 days. Gennadiy Filshin pointed out that the program was being supported by the 14 other Soviet republics in its basic aspects. With most of them Russia had already concluded inter-governmental agreements on monetary union and the preservation of economic ties.

Legislature Adopts Economic Sovereignty Bill

LD3110182890 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT
31 Oct 90

[By TASS legislative correspondents Lev Aksenov, Yuriy Kozmin, and Pavel Ostrov]

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—The Russian parliament today adopted a bill to lay the foundations for the Republic's economic sovereignty.

In its first article, this document, which was described by deputies as "effecting the transition to a market", proclaims Russia's resources and assets as the national wealth of the Russian peoples.

The law identifies state projects, institutions and organisations of union subordination as the property of Russia. Russian property can be managed by the federation to fulfil functions voluntarily delegated to it by the Russian government.

The USSR's gold reserve, diamond and currency funds are the property of the Union republics. Russia recognises the Union republics' right to shares of the diamond and currency funds and the gold reserve belonging to them.

The law also envisages several measures regulating foreign economic activity. Deals in this sphere on major types of raw material and resources, which are listed in the first article are recognised as invalid.

The republican government receives the right to define the procedure for the licencing of and fixing quotas for goods and services imported and exported from the Russian Federation. It will also accredit foreign firms, banks and other organisations, which have their offices on the Russian territory.

The parliament also adopted today a bill to form Russia's budget for 1991. Deputies endorsed the appointment of Viktor Khlystun, the 44-year-old doctor of economic sciences, as chairman of the Russian State Committee for Land Reform.

'Growing Dislocation' Seen in RSFSR Economy

LD3110172990 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—Although output is up, living standards are still falling, a report by the Russian Federation's State Committee on Statistics says today.

The output of consumer goods has increased by 5.8 per cent in the first nine months of 1990 as compared with the same period last year. At the same time the population's cash incomes rose by 14 per cent. The unsatisfied demand will top 110 billion roubles. There is a shortage of consumer goods and services throughout the republic.

It is especially acute in food supplies. The output of foodstuffs is up 2.2 per cent on the corresponding period of last year. The rationing of consumer goods and foodstuffs is widespread. Shoppers have to carry special ID cards. Prices are rising.

The growing dislocation of the consumer market destabilises the entire economy and hampers advance towards a market. The production of means of production dropped by 2.5 per cent over the nine months.

The programme for industrial construction is in jeopardy. House building and the construction of service and cultural establishments have dropped.

The volume of national income has also fallen.

The volume of the republic's exports totalled 28 billion roubles over the nine months, a seven per cent drop. Imports grew by three per cent, amounting to 34 billion roubles.

The republic has a negative foreign trade balance.

Yeltsin Discusses Republics Sovereignty, Health

LD3110165990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0450 GMT 31 Oct 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Excerpts] As already reported, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, is on holiday in Kislovodsk.

However, for a political figure of this rank holiday is a relative concept, and when you see the report in a moment by correspondent Pavel Guskov in the northern Caucasus, who has been in Kislovodsk, I think you will be convinced and agree with this, especially since rumors have appeared in various corners of our country that the health of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman has deteriorated.

If you are interested in how it all is in reality, then please join our correspondent in Kislovodsk:

[Begin recording] [Guskov] [passage omitted] For the person who has come here on holiday, virtually every day is becoming a working day. Now, there is a peculiar kind of news conference taking place with a wide variety of questions.

Here is one about the attitude of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman on the events in the Baltic:

[Yeltsin] The Balts did not ask for much at the start. They asked for economic independence. It should have been given at once: Take your economic independence! Have treaty relationships with other republics as we have now proposed to each republic! Let us conclude a bilateral treaty! I think that the current processes taking place there in the Baltics would have been inevitable anyway. But they would have passed off more easily, significantly more easily if there had been no resistance.

Imagine that if you resist the people then the people will of course further intensify its counterpressure. Psychologically this is completely natural; it is natural. An individual wants to be independent because he has lived for so many decades when he did not have his own feelings of national dignity, you understand. It has now begun to show through. What of it? It is good.

This is not nationalism, but national dignity precisely. Therefore I for one am not afraid at all. Say one, two, or three republics break away. What of it? What of it? We will conclude treaties; we will live; we will be friends; we will talk to each other.

You will not achieve anything now under vertical dictates. The people are not like that anymore. They do not agree with living under these dictates. It does not want to; it wants to voice its own opinion, you understand. It has its own opinion; it has its own ideas. You understand, this is the issue. You will not keep them quiet now.

Let us take Latvia. It is holding talks. What of it? It is holding talks with the Soviet Union. That is normal. It is a civilized path, a civilized one. But there is the question of the Russian-speaking population there. What is our attitude? In the first place, we request that the delegation should include representatives of the Russian-speaking population, without fail. Second, there should be a special point in the treaty on the social protection of the Russian-speaking population on their territory and, say of the Estonians on the territory of Russia.

[Guskov] What about the question that began the report. The question is Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's health and rumors about this?

[Yeltsin] The main thing now is to gather strength, you understand. There is no pathological condition at the moment. There is no heart attack. They all say: one heart attack, the second heart attack, the third, fifth, sixth heart attack. I do not know any more how many heart attacks I have already had during this time! [laughter]

Never mind, now I am going to walk and perhaps even try and start tennis today. [end recording]

RSFSR Communist Party Leaders Exchange Views

LD3110173190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1540 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Members of the politburo of the Communist Party of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] have met the heads of republican, kray, and oblast Communist Party committees. An exchange of views was held on topical political issues. It was stressed that the Communist Party of the RSFSR does not reject the search for points of contact with various public associations in tackling political, socio-economic, ecological, and other problems. At the same time, it will overtly dissociate itself from antisocialist and separatist formations and will firmly oppose anticommunist forces. The Communist Party of the RSFSR will remain loyal to the socialist choice and will defend the interests of the working people during the transition to a regulated market economy.

Polozkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the RSFSR, and Kuptsov,

secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke to those assembled. Such meetings with party committee first secretaries are to become a regular event.

Government Takes Action on Northerners' Demands

PM0111110390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Assisting the Northerners"]

[Text] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, implementing the decisions of the Murmansk regional trade union conference on the social and economic problems of the north, adopted a resolution "On Regulating Compensation for Citizens Living in the Northern Regions."

"This is one of the first concrete results of the constructive dialogue between the trade union center and the Russian Government," USSR People's Deputy V.I. Romanov, chairman of the commission for monitoring the fulfillment of the Murmansk conference decisions and deputy chairman of the Federation of RSFSR Independent Trade Unions, said about this event.

But this does not mean that all the north's problems will be solved by this resolution. Work on them is continuing. Thus, under the leadership of Yu. Skokov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, the work of the commission on the preparation of a draft RSFSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Regulate Economic and Social Relations in Northern RSFSR Regions During the Period of the Transition to the Market" has essentially been concluded. Taking an active part in its preparation were representatives of Russian ministries and departments, members of the commission for monitoring of the fulfillment of the Murmansk conference decisions, trade union and soviet workers, and specialists from northern regions and the East. It is intended that the draft will be examined in the first few days of November.

Furthermore, a decision was adopted to hold the second phase of the interregional trade union conference on the north's social and economic problems 21-22 November in Petropavlovsk Kamchatskiy in order to continue work to solve the north's problems.

Social Democratic Congress Issues Communique

PM0111122790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 30 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Communique of Second Russian Social Democratic Party Congress"]

[Text] A communique has been issued by the Second (Scheduled) Russian Social Democratic Party Congress, which was held 25-28 October in Sverdlovsk. Ninety-four delegates with casting votes representing 62 organizations took part in the work of the congress. Fourteen representatives from other parties and sociopolitical organizations were also present. USSR and Russian

people's deputies and a large group of deputies from local soviets took part in the work of the Russian Social Democratic Party Congress.

The main issue on the congress agenda, the document notes, was discussion of the draft party program "The Path of Progress and Social Democracy."

Congress participants devoted great attention to assessing the historical path of Russia in the 20th century, to assessing the current situation, and also to the social democrats' perception of their place in the state and in society. The party's aims and phases of activity in conditions of the transition to the market and the constitutional reform under way in the Russian Federation were formulated.

It was decided to hold the next—the Third—Russian Social Democratic Party congress in April 1991.

Further on Semenova's Visit to Maritime Kray

PM3110103390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Oct 90 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the rubric "Official": "Seeking Renewal"]

[Text] Vladivostok, 27 Oct.—G.V. Semenova, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, began her stay in Maritime Kray by visiting journalist collectives. Being an experienced journalist, and in the recent past chief editor of KRESTYANKA, the country's most widely-read magazine, she was interested to learn the opinion of her writer colleagues on the kray's problems. Maritime Kray's problems today, like those throughout the country, are far from simple. Empty counters, the failure of the housing program, the inefficiency of local organs of authority, and much else that the Central Committee secretary was also able to see for herself on visiting the "Silinskiy" State Farm, the Artem Knitted Underwear Factory, the port of Nakhodka....

In a frank atmosphere there was a pointed dialogue on the market, crime, the education of the rising generation, and the position of women in society. But most frequently one and the same question was raised: the question of the party.

This thought also permeated the kray party conference held in Vladivostok today in which G.V. Semenova participated. The main speaker—A.S. Golovizin, first secretary of the kray party committee—and the delegates who spoke pointed out with alarm that against the background of the activation of various informal movements, party committees have not yet taken an offensive stand. There is in evidence a well-planned campaign to destabilize the sociopolitical situation, but Communists prefer "not to get involved."

In the present situation it is very important for not only the leadership and party committees but also every Communist to define their position and to utilize all

existing reserves. G.V. Semenova's speech at the conference clearly showed that the party's credit of confidence is still far from exhausted. Over the past 18 months more than 4,000 letters have been sent to the party Central Committee from Maritime Kray. Almost all of them complain about local problems and voice anxiety over the party's prestige.

The conference supported the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress and the Constituent Congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party.

Bogdanov Views 'Tense' Situation in Moscow

LD3110185290 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1230 GMT 31 Oct

["Interview with USSR Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 31 October (TASS)—"We shall do everything possible to ensure that Moscow is calm over November's festive period," TASS correspondent Oleg Kulikov was told by Petr Bogdanov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs and head of the Moscow executive committee main directorate of internal affairs. He noted that the operational situation in the city is now tense. The complex social, economic, and political processes taking place within the country and in Moscow are having a negative influence on this situation. The rally activity of grassroots associations and groups of citizens has increased. Around 800 rallies have already been held this year. Such occurrences, especially in the city center near the buildings of the supreme state and party bodies, are increasingly politicized in nature with a clearly negative purpose in a number of cases. Excesses are not unknown. Instances of violence against monuments connected with the history of the state have become more frequent.

At different levels rumor are being spread about a possible military coup and various incidents during the festive events. Passions are being whipped up by the media too. In recent days, many publications in a number of central and Moscow newspapers have been aggravating an already explosive situation. This might lead to grave consequences.

Bogdanov observed that the crime situation in the city is marked by an upsurge in the violence and cruelty of criminal offenses. Displays of ostentatious disregard for public order and of disobedience and resistance, including armed resistance, against militiamen have increased in frequency.

Bogdanov said all this calls for active preparations before the festivities. The actions of the militia have become more decisive in recent times. A number of special and integrated warning and preventive measures have been implemented in the city's "hot" spots. Some

8,000 offenders have been detained in just one day of "Operation Law and Order." The situation has become somewhat calmer.

At present, Bogdanov went on, the executive committee is considering applications for the holding of alternative demonstrations, processions, and rallies during the festive days. The proposed sites for the events and the routes to be followed coincide or intersect. Talks are under way to regulate the events so as to prevent conflicts and infringements of public order.

We have sufficient forces and possibilities to deal with extremists and those planning to spoil the festival mood for everyone, Bogdanov stated in conclusion.

Bush Receives Leningrad's Sobchak in Washington

LD3110201590 Moscow TASS in English 1915 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Washington October 31 TASS—President George Bush received visiting Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak in the oval office of the White House on Tuesday evening to discuss cooperation of the U.S. business community with Leningrad.

During a brief meeting, Bush conveyed greetings to Leningraders from the American people and wishes of success to the Soviet Union in conducting political and economic reforms and implementing perestroika.

Sobchak was also received by U.S. Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher and Carla Hills, U.S. representative at the trade talks. The sides also discussed cooperation of American businessmen with Leningrad as a free economic zone.

They discussed the social and political situation in the USSR, the transition to a market economy, relations between republics, regions and cities in connection with a union treaty which is being drafted by the Soviet parliament.

Formation of Leningrad Commodity Exchange Reported

PM0111105390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Vladimir Nevelskiy: "Commodity Exchange Being Created"]

[Text] Leningrad—Approximately 40 enterprises and organizations in the city have founded a commodity exchange.

The Leningrad commodity exchange will operate with the rights of a limited liability society. Its task is to render intermediary services in the conclusion of trade deals and to help regularize commodity trade. It will be an important element in the regulation of trade operations and the settling of trade disputes. In addition, the exchange will gather and publish information on prices and on the state of industry, transportation, and other spheres of life in the city.

In the very near future, the organizing committee and management of the exchange have to draw up and approve a set of documents on the rules of exchange trade and to formulate a mechanism for exchange price quotation. It is also necessary to provide for a system of measures to stabilize the exchange market and create commodity reserves. Broking, insurance, and other firms will appear in Leningrad before the end of this year, and specialist training will begin.

Workings of Leningrad City Soviet Examined

91UN0137A Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 41, 21-28 Oct 90 p 4

[Article by Andrei Chernov: "In Favour of 'The Strong Hand'—Notes From the Session of the Leningrad City Soviet"]

[Text] I wish I could begin my notes on an optimistic note. Alas, the crisis in Leningrad is making headway—on the streets, in the shops and in the Mariinsky Palace, the scene of the Leningrad City Soviet's 2nd Session.

For days the deputies were unable to decide how the utterly ineffective structure of the Soviet could be rationally reorganized and which of its chairmen—the chairman of the Soviet or the chairman of the Executive Committee—should play first fiddle. It is not a question of thwarted ambitions, though. The reasons are much deeper....

Just before the session, Chairman Anatoly Sobchak of the Leningrad City Soviet declared he would not allow anyone to upset or drag out the session. In the very first minutes, however, it appeared that the voting machine was out of order. It took the technicians one and a half hours to adjust the computers. Two days later they announced that the system had been deliberately wrecked. Early on the first morning someone sat down in the extreme left-hand seat in the last but one row and expertly short-circuited the network.

On that same first day the editor of ANTI-SOVIET PRAVDA Sasha Bogdanov hung the Russian imperial tricolour just in front of the presidium. Chairman Sobchak invoked the law prohibiting the use of unofficial symbols during official meetings and demanded its removal. The radical democrats rushed to Sasha's defence. For forty minutes the city of Leningrad watched the battle, which was transmitted live. Deputy Skoibeda followed the classical traditions of fighting on the barricades and stood up for the flag and Sasha. In the meantime Sasha spoke out passionately against "the Soviet Chairman's policing" and appealed for Leningrad to be immediately renamed St. Petersburg. He played the role of provocateur with relish and inspiration.

The session voted to remove Sasha from the assembly hall. But a brief skirmish between the militia and Deputy Skoibeda (representing the Democratic Union) ended in the militia's retreat. The following day workers of the Izhora Works sent telegrams and phoned to say the

following: "If you are so weak-willed as to be unable to fulfil your own decision, we will not fulfil your decisions either."

The following day more tricolours appeared in the assembly hall. The cameraman often focused on them, with Deputy Marina Salye of the Russian Federation and Leningrad City Soviet in the background. An acknowledged leader of the anti-Sobchak opposition, she declared war on him on the very day he was elected chairman.

Sobchak informed the deputies that his colleague Skoibeda had tried to break into Sobchak's and his deputy's offices the previous night, but had been apprehended by the caretaker. The session ignored the information—demonstrating once again the seriousness of the political crisis within the Leningrad City Soviet.

THE CORRESPONDENTS VERSION. Rumours about Sobchak's ambition to become "Leningrad's single ruler," a self-styled Governor General, have grown from muted whispers to open accusations. Why? Because the democrats now at the helm are still relying on their rich experience of loud-voiced public rallies. But when the situation is bordering on emergency, quick action is needed.

What is going to happen, for example, if the rumour about the riot police going on strike materializes and the streets are flooded by youngsters spurred on by a sense of immunity and bent on trouble? The Leningrad City Soviet will not be able to cope with them effectively.

But when Chairman Anatoly Sobchak and his only deputy Vyacheslav Shcherbakov demanded additional emergency powers the session refused. I think the municipal deputies were still under the influence of the heated debate in the national parliament about granting additional powers to the President. The Leningrad City Soviet deputies shuddered at the very thought of strengthening the man at the top, but for all that the Soviet retained the right to veto his decisions.

Soviet power in the person of the deputies voted to stay in control—or rather to retain their constitutional right to rule. Now that Sobchak's plan to prepare himself for emergency had failed, the democrats' mystical horror of a "usurper" might reduce his skimpy authority to purely representational functions.

While choosing between Sobchak and Shchelkanov, the chairman of the Executive Committee, the majority of Leningrad City Soviet deputies seem to favour the latter's proposal. Although Shchelkanov was ready to resign only a short time ago, he now appears to be much stronger than his counterpart.

What lies at the root of the conflict? Sobchak's sympathizers allege that he is now a mere co-ordinator of the Leningrad City Soviet presidium and often has to sign presidium decisions he disagrees with "at gunpoint." He is thus incapable of independent decision making.

Sobchak's opponents argue that if Sobchak wants additional powers, let him become executive chairman. Otherwise he would make the decisions while dodging the responsibility that goes with them. No one has so far explained how Sobchak is going to dodge the responsibility, though....

Shchelkanov is all for division of power but in favour of the Executive Committee, which would then become an autonomous decision maker free of the deputies' control.

The very structure of the Soviets (local Councils) with their two equally important heads was bound to give rise to the present conflict. Of course, every leader has a plan of his own which might prove equally beneficial. But Sobchak's rating is higher, while the deputies put greater trust in Shchelkanov, of whatever reason.

It is clear what grave consequences this confrontation may have. I'm afraid that many would like to see Sobchak and Shchelkanov quarrel, especially since both are men of character.

Passions at the Mariinsky Palace run so high that even the report of a commission busy taking over duties from the old Executive Committee produced no particular impression. Yes, some documents had been handed over to the procurator, yes, these documents proved that the previous authorities had ruined the city. Who doesn't know that already?

But here are some facts of a different nature. Looking at the results of a recent opinion poll Leonid Keselman, head of the Centre for Studying and Forecasting Social Problems, announced: three in one Leningraders are for Sobchak, believing he should be granted wider power. The city is for Sobchak, but it cannot be said that it is for democracy. Tired of verbiage and food shortages, the city favours strong authoritative power. With regard to this, sociologists say, the score is two to one. Deputies do not yet know these figures, but the "sponsor committee" of radical democrats has wisely, not spoken of impeachment. Instead it torpedoed the chairman's proposal on the establishment of a committee charged with governing the free enterprise region.

On Friday the paternal Boris Gidaspov appeared on TV screens. He pities the children now set to open doors for rich imperialists at a dollar a time. Incidentally, in the same letter addressed by members of the Leningrad Regional Party Committee to the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee we read: "The emergency situation calls for emergency measures..." An attempt at new counter-offensive?

Gidaspov doesn't run amok, doesn't raise his fists as he did last November. He is calm: "A grand master is not concerned which move will win the game." Why is he so cocksure about victory?

THE CORRESPONDENTS VERSION. The Smolny Institute (the local party headquarters—Ed.) has been

trying to prove that it alone is concerned over the goings-on in the city. More, it is prepared to forgive Leningraders who had no faith in it at the spring elections to the Leningrad City Soviet, if they come back to the CPSU fold.

Recently Nikolai Ryzhkov urged the setting up of people's squads to help the militia and go out on the streets in the struggle against "organized crime," profiteers and speculating co-op members. Allegedly: we put paid to organized crime with the people's forces, and then move on towards the market.

It seems that deputy Skoibeda of the Leningrad City Soviet, Ryzhkov and Gidaspov all want to ignore the fact that neither the old authorities nor the new have any chance in the event of things going wrong in Russia. In a situation when both old and new rulers have been discredited and bled on another white, power will go to the third force.

At Gostiny Dvor people in para-military overcoats display their posters. There is brisk trade in VOZROZHDENIYE ROSSII (Rebirth of Russia), OTCHIZNA (Fatherland) and LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA (Literary Russian). Only recently they were unsalable, now they sell like hot cakes.

I rewrite in my notebook excerpts from a Statement by the Coordinating Committee of the National-Democratic Party (NDP): "The differences among Gorbachev, Yeltsin, Sobchak, Novodvorskaya et al are no more than an organized show; we see the usurpation of power being prepared by the left-wing, i.e., zionists-nazi dictatorship as a rehash of the October coup... We maintain that in that case the citizens of Russia will be free of the limitations imposed on them by the profaned constitution."

Thus the NDP is threatening revolt and massacre. In a letter to the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Gidaspov qualifies the situation as extraordinary. And only their brother-democrats live a life of their own. They fail to see the force which will brush them aside tomorrow and are reluctant to reorganize the inoperable structure of facade democracy.

It will be recalled that the score in the city is two to one in favour of a strong hand.

After Alexander Shchelkanov virtually confronted the session with an ultimatum—either the scheme of limited power functions proposed by him is adopted or he resigns as EC Chairman—Deputy Valery Andreyev came forward with a demand that the Leningrad City Soviet form an emergency headquarters with Sobchak at its head.

However, almost unanimously the deputies voted for Shchelkanov's proposed separation of law-making and executive authority and turned down the idea of combining the posts of chairmen of the Soviet and the Executive Committee. From now on the Chairman of

the Executive Committee will shoulder both official powers needed to run the city and the main burden of responsibility. I can't say whether the conflict has been overcome.

7 Nov Celebrations Planned Throughout Siberia

LD3110213390 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 31 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The celebration of 7 November—this theme is becoming topical on the eve of the revolution anniversary. The SIBINFORM agency provides information on the storm of passions which this event is arousing in the localities.

Thus, in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk the city soviet has not allocated a single kopeck to hold the parade and demonstration. The military are shouldering the expenses of holding the parade. Collectives of enterprises wishing to take part in the demonstration are taking on the expenses of organizing it.

In Omsk the bureau of the city CPSU committee has decided to hold a demonstration and a rally. The presidium of the city soviet reacted in its own way. The city's communists have been allowed to hold both events, but at their own expense.

In Irkutsk the presidium of the city soviet decided to finance the festive demonstration from the city budget.

In Tomsk the bureau of the oblast committee of the CPSU and the presidium of the city soviet greatly differed in their opinions. The bureau adopted a decision to hold a festive demonstration of Communists and working people of Tomsk on Revolution Square. However, the presidium considers it, and I quote, inappropriate to hold a city-wide demonstration.

In Tobolsk on 7 November there will be a march to the tomb of those who died in the White Guard mutiny. The money for organizing the march was allocated by the city's enterprises.

There will be no military parade in Kemerovo this year. Popular celebrations have not been banned. The CPSU city committee wishes to hold celebrations on the Soviets Square, while the city union of the working people of the Kuzbass wish to hold a mourning meeting there. Whose idea will finally emerge victorious will be known on 7 November.

North Caucasus Ethnic Minorities Hold Congress

LD0111112690 Moscow World Service in English
0800 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] More than 20 national democratic movements and political parties in the North Caucasus have attended a congress of mountain dwellers. The forum, held in the city of Nalchik, demanded recognition of the right of small ethnic groups to take part in the drafting

and approval of a treaty of the Union. They largely connect their hopes with the formation of new ethnic state structures in the Russian federation, incorporating the region. In its documents the congress rejected the use of force as a means of solving problems.

Saratov City Seeks 'Open' Status, Foreign Ties

PM011101590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Valentina Nikolayeva under "Direct Line" rubric] "Saratov Will Become Open City"

[Text] Saratov—A session of the Saratov City Soviet of People's Deputies decided to open Saratov City as of 1 January 1991 to free visits by foreign citizens and people without citizenship.

"Owing to its status as a 'closed city,' the major economic, scientific, and cultural center has been considerably held back in its development," said V. Golovachev, chairman of the city soviet of people's deputies.

People's deputies believe that the city soviet session's decision to open the city will provide a powerful boost to its prosperity. An influx of businessmen has now begun and the first symposiums, conferences, and exhibitions involving foreigners are being held now in connection with the creation of joint enterprises—the Soviet-German "Blesk" enterprise producing machines to chemically clean clothing and the Soviet-Luxembourg "Otema-Sar" computer software enterprise.

Cooperation with foreign firms will stimulate the renewal of the neglected municipal hotels and public catering network. With the restoration of international ties the world, is beginning to learn about traditionally talented Saratov artists such as R. Mertsin, A. Uchayev, and T. Khakhanova.

The people of Saratov are waiting hopefully to see whether the decision adopted by the city soviet of people's deputies to open the city will receive legal backing from the republic and USSR governments.

Stavropol Democratic Platform Holds Conference

LD3110103290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0800 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] The Stavropol Democratic Platform constituent conference has taken place.

The association's charter was confirmed, the statement of their aims was adopted, and the leadership at kray level was elected.

This association is a public organization of the Democratic Platform of the Russian Federation. They plan to create a new parliamentary political party at the constituent congress, scheduled to be held in Moscow 17-18 November, on the basis of the Democratic Platform.

As Lysenko, a Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputy and one of the founders of this movement, noted in his speech at the constituent conference: The intention is that the congress will confirm the name of the new party as the Republican Party of Russia.

High Radioactivity Reported in Aldan Kray Village

LD3110201890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] The Aldan Rayon Executive Committee, Yakutiya, has decided to introduce legal action in the amount of 1.5 million rubles against the USSR Ministry of Geology. The thing is that the ministry's specialized expedition stayed for some years in a village in the northern part of the kray. Now scientists from the Yakutsk Biology Institute have discovered areas with a high degree of radioactivity here. A working commission is to arrive in the region in the near future to inspect specific settlements thoroughly. But it is already clear that the Ministry will have to pay for the negligence of its staff.

Computer Firm Prepares for Zelenograd Free Zone

PM0111120590 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Report by Ye. Vantorina and I. Kutub-Zade; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Free economic zones operating in more than 100 countries of the world are described as a window open to the world. Our country is pinning its hopes of economic recovery on this form of business cooperation.

[Vantorina] Six krays, oblasts, and cities in Russia were recently declared a free enterprise zone. They include Zelenograd, the largest center of Soviet electronics. When speaking of free zones, it is necessary to stress that they will be kind of oases of a market-type economy where the usual administrative methods of regulating enterprises' economic activity will be practically reduced to a minimum. The Zelenograd Center of Scientific and Technical Services—one of the city's largest independent enterprises—is already operating on the principles of freedom and complete economic accountability. It is primarily engaged in producing computers and software. Unlike many other firms which only sell computers, the Zelenograd center Zelax also produces them. At the recent Informatika-90 international exhibition, many Western firms showed tremendous interest in the enterprise's output. Long-term contracts were concluded.

[S.M. Sukhman, deputy head of the Zelax center] This exhibition is, as it were, a rehearsal, a dress rehearsal prior to the presentation of the free economic zone in the city of Zelenograd which will take place over the next few months. Our aim is to prepare for this presentation and reveal our potential.

[Vantorina] Incidentally, the center's output is geared above all to Soviet clients. They are pleased with it. After all, Zelax provides servicing for its output during the operational process. The main principle behind the enterprise's work is to invest the funds which it earns in production development.

[Sukhman] We are now developing the technological aspects of our production; we are trying to scale new heights, in particular in order to be able to work in the free economic zone.

Bashkir Communists Discuss 'Tense Situation'

*PM0111135990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Oct 90 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Conference of Bashkir Communists"]

[Text] Ufa, 28 Oct—The third, concluding stage of the Bashkir Communists' party conference was devoted to the search for a way out of the tense situation.

The republic of Bashkortostan, which recently became a sovereign Union republic, is living through difficult days now. Today not all is well in one of the country's largest industrial-agrarian regions which produces a substantial proportion of petrochemical and machine building output, generates a substantial proportion of electricity, and whose agro-industrial complex occupies a leading place in Russia. The pace of economic development has slowed down considerably and housing and other social questions are not being resolved. The ecological situation is as bad as could be and national problems are aggravated to the limit.

I.K. Polozkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], took part in the work of the conference and delivered a speech. In particular he said that the Russian Communist Party will do everything to assist Bashkortostan to cooperate on an equal basis with the RSFSR and the Union, on the basis of mutual consensus and expediency.

The Bashkir Communists voted to rename the oblast party organization the Bashkir republican party organization of the RSFSR Communist Party.

Smolensk Farm Uses Buckwheat for Barter Trade

*PM0111102390 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0930 GMT 29 Oct 90*

[Report by V. Vengrzhnovskiy; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text][Vengrzhnovskiy] Buckwheat is a crop rarely to be seen in the fields of the Non-Chernozem Zone. In Smolensk Oblast you can count on the fingers of one hand the farms which cultivate this cereal for which the state pays 960 rubles per tonne.

The Dnepr sovkhoz [state farm] in Kardymovskiy Rayon is one such farm. But this sought-after cereal is not just being delivered to state granaries.

What can be bought for buckwheat in conditions of the transition to market conditions?

[A.M. Khotov, Dnepr sovkhoz director] We have received letters from many enterprises proposing to exchange paint, timber, pipes, and so forth for buckwheat. We produce the buckwheat and then we barter it. This does not yet apply to milk and meat. We have not yet worked out a system. We sell meat and milk as an intermediate product.

[Vengrzhnovskiy] Clearly the market will necessitate a new form of organization also within the farm?

[Khotov] Naturally, working in accordance with the old system, where planning and setting of norms is done from above and leaders are told how much to sell and where, we will never achieve a market. At present we receive numerous recommendations as to how much we should pay people during the grain harvest, the potato harvest, the flax harvest, and so forth. In my opinion, all this has long since outlived its usefulness....

Problems in Tyumen Oil Industry Examined

*PM0111090990 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 28 Oct 90*

[Report by A. Shvetsov and V. Lunev; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Now another subject—the subject of oil. A conflict situation has taken shape in the oilfields of the country's largest association, Nizhnevartovskneftegaz. We have already talked about this in our program. The Tyumen oil workers were intending to strike, demanding increased wages and improved working conditions. Moreover, they were also protesting that criminal and civil proceedings had been instituted against technical and service personnel over the numerous accidents at the oilfields. According to recent reports, there will be no strike. But the problems remain unresolved.

[Correspondent] Over the last 20 years or so equipment has become outmoded and worn out; thousands of kilometers of pipeline are in need of replacement. It has been calculated that for this reason alone up to 1 million tonnes of oil a year are spilt in Western Siberia. You can imagine the damage sustained by the whole industry and the suffering inflicted on the area's ecology. But it turns out that the country lacks the resources today to retool the fuel and energy complex, which provides the lion's share of hard-currency revenue.

[B.P. Volkov, director of the "Chernogorneft" enterprise] Our ministry is beginning to constantly reduce extraction. We are already slipping next year to a level of 528 million tonnes in planned oil extraction. Compared with this year, that represents a reduction of 30 million tonnes. That is, the price of oil is rising on the world

market and we will therefore lose \$7 billion. We are cutting back drilling since there is no financing, we are disbanding strong production collectives capable of performing this work of drilling oil boreholes. We are altogether reducing our country to deadlock since we are not exploiting the potential invested in it today.

[Correspondent] Your collective works under somewhat different conditions from others—on the leasing principle.

[Volkov] But among oil industry workers Chernogor-neft is the only fuel and energy complex enterprise in the Union to operate on the leasing principle. This made our collective refrain from shutting up shop. That is not necessary, it is merely necessary to take resolute action. Do we on our own have to do something that the Soviet Government was unable to do, that is develop a means of influencing the oil industry to improve and reorganize itself....

[Correspondent] I would venture to say that most of Nizhnevartovsk's oil workers oppose the further exacerbation of the conflict, but nor will they agree to settle the matter without a fuss or leave everything as it is. The highly important fuel and energy complex and the people working here demand a fundamentally new approach. This approach must indeed be based above all on sensible economic calculations—economic autonomy for the extraction enterprises.

[Announcer] Instead of a commentary, I want to give you a small piece of information. USSR oil exports 1975 through 1989 earned approximately 100 billion rubles. We annually export almost one in five tonnes of the oil we extract. Incidentally, oil problems are most directly linked with the problems of the approaching winter. They will be examined by the country's legislature tomorrow.

Problems With Construction in Buynaksk Outlined

PM0111084990 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0930 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Report by D. Beybutov and V. Mamiyev; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Correspondent] The old flour mill in Buynaksk is creaking under the pressure of work, trying to cope despite its limited capacity. Meanwhile, on the territory of the local grain product combine, a new complex for the production of high-grade flour has firmly established itself as an unfinished project. It is designed to mill 160 tonnes of grain per day.

The attention of the mass media, which have with good reason sounded the alarm, has triggered a series of conferences, planning meetings, and operational consultations here which are sometimes attended by more construction leaders of various levels than laborers on the project itself.

We have been assured that 50 construction workers are working here. But during a tour of the various levels of the unfinished project we counted less than 20. [passage omitted]

Successful Angarsk Plant Profiled

PM0111084590 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Report by V. Kodkin and Yu. Chetin; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] According to THE TIMES newspaper, President Gorbachev has authorized Sverdlovsk leaders to sell part of their military output so as to be able to acquire food products and consumer goods. Fortunately in the sea of economic chaos there are still small islands—enterprises which are functioning smoothly and are not reducing their output. The Angarsk electromechanical plant is one of them.

[Correspondent] This enterprise, which could almost be described as the sector's flagship, is steering a steady course, although it too is subject to the blows inflicted by a rapidly failing economy and partners who are ceasing to be allies. However, a crew which has identified the fairway in the fog of our changes and has discovered a reliable harbor—the market—is not likely to sink. In this harbor dealers, both ours and foreign, are eager to lay their hands on electrical household goods, above all these waffle irons, of course. Output has been doubled this year, but demand is not abating. The enterprise is also intending to produce electric grills and irons. There are many plans whose realization is to be facilitated by the sale of shares. The entire 700,000 rubles obtained as a result of this sale will be invested into new equipment for the production of electrical household appliances.

The plant also produces other goods—control system switchboards and various kinds of switches—not just meeting the plan, but exceeding it by 14 percent. [passage omitted]

Privatization Plans for Kostroma Examined

PM3110101390 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Report by A. Chistyakov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Despite gloomy predictions, local authorities in various parts of the country are, at their own risk and peril, embarking on privatization.

[Chistyakov] Approximately half of the city's stores, canteens, cafes, and service facilities are about to change hands. In each case an individual approach is required. Apart from citizens' interests, dozens of other factors have to be taken into account. For instance the cost of the enterprise to be privatized, who should own it, and what rights should they have. The solution of these problems was entrusted to an Ownership Committee, a

Council of Experts, and a Pricing Commission which were set up by decision of a city soviet session.

Aleksandr Gennadiyevich, what will citizens, what will the working people gain from stores switching to private or collective ownership? After all, the store shelves are empty.

[A.G. Voronin, city soviet deputy chairman] The problem at present is that stores are not interested in finding goods. Neither stores nor the trade administration are interested in this. We are trying to create a different system. Present supplies will be maintained, but in addition private owners will be interested in finding goods, not just in their distribution.

[Chistyakov] By decision of the Council of Experts, labor collectives of the enterprises in question will be given priority in acquiring ownership. This is a necessary antimonopolization measure.

While conducting an antimonopoly policy, the city soviet itself has turned into a monopolist, in a positive sense of the word. For moderate sums of money colleagues from other cities are buying its privatization schemes.

New Wage System Boosts Kuzbass Performance

PM3110095590 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Report by N. Chirkov and V. Voronov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] A center for effective methods of economic activity has been organized in the Kuzbass. Many of its developments and recommendations are already being applied to improve economic mechanisms in the coal industry where, as you know, the situation is difficult. These include in particular planned economic activity "from below"—from the sector team—rather than "from above," and the introduction of a flexible system of labor remuneration based on end results. Here is a report from the "Severnaya" Mine.

[Reporter] Aleksandr Kuzmich Aksenov's team—the best drilling team at the mine—believes that autonomy and responsibility call the shots. A few months ago the team received an order to start a new seam. Under the contract it was necessary not only to carry out the work in time but also resolve all drilling tasks with the smallest expenditure of effort and funds. The team's wages have now become directly dependent on this—not on the plan but on the end result of every working day. This economic freedom has compelled them to consider and take note of their interests and has brought excellent results. They can be said to have done the seams on a turnkey basis. Although the cost of each running meter of mine sinking has risen slightly, the quality of the work and the standard of seam preparation have precluded subsequent expenditure—on repairs and installation alterations, that is an ultimate saving has been made. At the

same time the team has also resolved other tasks. There have been cutbacks in unnecessary shift foremen who have taken on the duties of duty filters whose services have been abandoned. Further, everyone here now realizes that the person who finds new opportunities for making effective use of resources is a key figure in a market economy. [passage omitted]

Irkutsk Firm To Exploit Liquefied Gas Find

PM0111101990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Oct 90 Union Edition p 1

[Report by Vladimir Sbitnev under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Oblispolkom Sets Up Consortium"]

[Text] Irkutsk—The founding conference of the "Baykalekogaz" consortium has taken place at the Irkutsk Oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee]. One of its founders is the oblispolkom itself.

The "Vostsibneftegazgeologiya" association has located the largest liquefied gas field in the Siberian platform area. The preconditions are now present, first for converting to clean fuel Baykal region enterprises which are thoroughly choking Baykal with atmospheric discharges, and second for the production of new goods. The oblispolkom decided on this step after talks with major foreign firms which have agreed to finance development of the project.

The consortium comprises 15 of the oblast's enterprises representing the chemical, petrochemical, and energy sectors, and also oil and gas exploration and geophysical enterprises. The extracted raw material is also due to be processed into the end product right here.

Gorno-Altay Oblast Declares Itself ASSR

PM3110141390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by B. Prokhorov: "Gorno-Altay's New Status"]

[Text] Barnaul—The Gorno-Altay Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies has adopted a decision on the transformation of the autonomous oblast into an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] within the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. The declaration states in particular that the Gorno-Altay ASSR guarantees equal legal opportunities to citizens and political parties and that it has the exclusive right of possession and use of this unique region's natural resources. The autonomous republic will aim to strengthen old economic ties and create new ones. On the eve of the oblast soviet session an agreement was concluded with the Altay Kray Soviet Executive Committee on the basic principles of economic cooperation.

To Form 'Ecological Economic Zone'

PM0111102590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Margarita Kurgalina under "Direct Line" rubric: "Gornyy Altay Decides Its Future"]

[Text] Barnaul—A session of Gorno-Altay Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies has adopted a declaration on forming an autonomous republic on its territory, along with a decision to create an ecological economic zone within it, the first of ten planned in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic].

An international seminar was held immediately after this in Gorno-Altaysk to discuss general problems relating to the zone. The conference, in which Soviet and foreign specialists took part, naturally provided publicity and information. Foreigners will subsequently take part in setting up a consultative firm whose aim is to create a normative base for the ecological economic zone and attract foreign investors. The intention is to set up enterprises that use environmentally friendly medicinal plants for new-type medicine and to develop tourism.

Chuvash Republic Issues Sovereignty Decree

PM3110152190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Valentin Razboynikov: "Chuvash Sovereignty"]

[Text] Cheboksary—After a heated two-day debate a session of the Chuvash Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet has adopted a Declaration of State Sovereignty.

The declaration states: "The Chuvash SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], as Chuvashia is henceforth to be known, is a sovereign multinational state on the Middle Volga, a subject of the federation of Russia and the USSR. Russian and Chuvash are established as the state languages of the republic. At the same time the development of the languages of all other nationalities in the region is guaranteed...."

According to the declaration, the land, mineral wealth, waters, flora and fauna, and other natural resources are the property of the Chuvash SSR. The republic makes sensible use of the natural resources on its territory and is concerned about the population's ecological protection.

Rostov Oblast Elects New First Party Secretary

PM0111140790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent M. Kryukov under general heading: "Frank Talk Under Way"]

[Text] The Don Communists' report and election oblast conference has completed its work.

V.T. Suslin was elected first secretary of the Rostov CPSU Obkom [oblast committee]. A.V. Vlasov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department, took part in the work of the conference and delivered a speech.

Kalmyk Republic Elects New First Secretary

PM3110102990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Oct 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the rubric "Official" and the general heading: "Party Conferences Held"]

[Text] Elista, 27 Oct—The concluding stage of the conference of the Kalmyk republic party organization of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party ended here today.

The conference adopted a resolution and the action program of the republic party organization and elected its new leadership. B.D. Muyevev, who was working previously as second secretary of the Kalmyk republic party committee, was elected first secretary of this committee in a contested election.

A.S. Sokolov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the work of the conference and addressed it.

First Issue of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA Published

LD0111103390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0430 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Here is another news item that will certainly arouse the interest of many Russians. The first issue of the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA; the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet publication, is being issued today. At present its circulation is only 200,000. About 10 issues are planned between 3 and 26 November. After that the newspaper will be published daily. It will be distributed through the Soyuzpechat [newsstands] for a while. An announcement about subscriptions to ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA will be published additionally.

Plant Station Competes With Oblast Television

PM0111111590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Chronicle of the Past Day": "From Satellite to Screen"]

[Text] Yaroslavl—The cable and satellite television station at the "Rezinotekhnika" plant culture center has become a rival to oblast television broadcasting in Yaroslavl.

The station, which initially expects 2,500 subscribers, has daily television broadcasts for the inhabitants of the

Zavodskoy residential district. Viewers can see on the screen local news, up-to-the-minute reports, advertisements, programs for home study, and children's programs. Foreign feature films are also shown: The station receives up to 20 foreign programs by satellite.

New Newspaper Focuses on Chernobyl Aftermath

*LD3110105190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0800 GMT 31 Oct 90*

[Text] A report from Bryansk: SLAVYANSKOYE POLE, a new interregional newspaper, will actively contribute toward eliminating the aftermath of the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station accident.

The republic's State Committee for Eliminating the Aftermath of the Chernobyl accident and the labor collective of the oblast's newspaper for young people are its founders.

Western Republics

Coverage of Crisis Situation in Gagauz Region

TV Interviews Locals on Situation

*LD3110222290 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 31 Oct 90*

[Report by correspondent A. Barkhatov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The events taking place in Moldova [Moldavia] continue to keep up the tension. We have had sad experience of this. Too many interethnic conflicts which have recently flared up have ended up in bloodshed. One would like to think that this will not happen in Moldova. It is difficult to draw any conclusions as yet. We have little information. Soviet and foreign correspondents continue to find it difficult to get through to the state of emergency zone.

[Begin recording] [Barkhatov] In accordance with the understanding between representatives of the Government of Moldova and the provisional committee of the Gagauz Republic, the withdrawal of volunteer people's voluntary detachments by both sides should begin today. We observed this in the settlement of Chimishliya bordering on the Gagauz Rayon this morning. However, once again we were unable to do this completely.

[Major General I.G. Kostash, Moldavian minister of internal affairs] I would like to hope, at the least—and I believe in reason—that this process will continue. It is necessary only to keep to the promises that have been given. In the first instance, this concerns the Gagauz side.

[Barkhatov] In any event, for the journalists of the central press the road from Kishinev to Komrat was unblocked, which to a certain extent should extinguish possible rumors about the presence in Gagauz villages of

other army formations apart from internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[A.V. Mestyukov, captain of internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs] Everything is going well here and the situation is totally calm. It is being fully monitored by the internal troops and special subunits of internal affairs.

[Barkhatov] Have there been no excesses on the road in recent days nor before that?

[Mestyukov] There have been no excesses. The situation is calm.

[Barkhatov] There are masses of rumors that there are regular army units here. You are airborne assault troops. What are you doing here? Why is your equipment here?

[First serviceman] We are servicing the special subunits with our equipment. All the special subunits have been brought here....

[Second serviceman, interrupting] It is our equipment.

[First serviceman, continuing] ...by our equipment, but the personnel are from the special troops.

[Barkhatov] That is, you are simply providing help with the movement of the troops, that is your sole task?

[Second serviceman] Quite right.

[Barkhatov] Just that?

[Mestyukhov] Just that.

[K.P. Taushanzy, chairman of the Komrat Rayon Executive Committee] There are tens of thousands accumulated there; but from our side a few dozen buses from the Dnestr republic. Therefore, we think the withdrawal should begin, or the greater withdrawal, by that side which has gathered here. I think the commission will come to a consensus and that in the next few days—today or tomorrow—the departure of all formations will begin. People have come here from the Dnestr area—from Tiraspol, Bendery, and Rybnitsa—not to fight. They have come here to say "No." This side has the same strength, equal standing; that is, the forces are equal and that the expediency of clashes has become unwise.

[Barkhatov] As you have heard, no one denies the presence here of voluntary people's units from Tiraspol, Rybnitsa, and other towns of the left bank. They have been invited here to help. We are now traveling behind a bus on which there is a group of volunteers from Tiraspol to a post that is controlled by their forces. Do you not think that your arrival here could cause quite bloody events? Do you take this into account?

[First young man] We have peaceful intentions. We do want trouble. Why should we want to spill blood or fight? We all have families at home and children waiting for us, and no one wants to get into fights.

[Second young man] There can be no question of weapons. It is the militia and the army who have weapons. We are here solely to give moral support.

[Barkhatov] Tomorrow the session of the Supreme Soviet of Moldova will once again discuss the situation in the south of the republic. The Gagauz side, while waiting for the parliamentary decision, has imposed a temporary moratorium on the activity of their deputies who held their congress the day before yesterday. [end recording]

Gagauz Talks Continue 31 Oct

LD0111000390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1900 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Talks that began yesterday in Komrat with representatives of the Gagauz movement continued today. Taking part in the talks were (Sangeli), chairman of the temporary committee of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic for implementing the state of emergency, and Colonel General Shatalin, commander in chief of the internal troops of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry. The first session of the Gagauz Republic's Supreme Soviet, declared anticonstitutional by the Moldovan [Moldavian] legislature, took place in Komrat yesterday. A break of 10 days in its work was announced in order to continue the talks.

It has become known that the Gagauz side is requesting a halt to the action of decisions of the session of the Moldovan Supreme Soviet of 27 July in order that the talks should end successfully. [passage omitted]

Controversy Arises Over Army Role

LD3110205390 Moscow TASS in English 2027 GMT
31 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev October 31 TASS—All the problems which have emerged in Moldavia should be settled at the negotiating table through mutual concessions, commander-in-chief of South-western area forces Vladimir Osipov believes.

In an interview published today by the SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA newspaper, he deadily [as received] opposed attempts to dismember both Union republics and the Soviet Union as a whole.

Osipov flatly rejected accusations by some Moldavians that the Army supports the establishment of the Gagauz republic. According to the general, this is nothing but an attempt to lay the blame at somebody else's door.

Osipov accused leaders of various movements and parties, who are scrambling for power, of whipping up the present situation. He also blamed some local mass media spreading rumours aimed at distorting the role of armed forces in the crisis situation in the republic.

In his opinion, "Moldavian Government is also partially to blame, since it did not heed to the advice of the Moldavian Parliament which called for cautious actions."

At the same time republican interior minister Ion Kostash believes that "tension is growing due to a duel position of the all-Union Interior Ministry forces and central USSR bodies, as well as negative actions by instigators and separatists from Tiraspol."

"Actions by Tiraspol separatists are delaying the solution of this problem," Kostash said.

In an interview with the MOLDOVA-PRESS News Agency, he said: "We do not fully cooperate with the USSR Interior Ministry and all-Union interior troops stationed in the state of emergency zone."

"Although they do not deny the expediency of joint work with the Moldavian Interior Ministry, they do not assist in implementing agreed actions.

"If this situation persists, the republican leadership will be unable to keep the situation under control," Kostash said.

Situation 'Somewhat' Normalized

LD3110205590 Moscow TASS in English 2037 GMT
31 Oct 90

[By MOLDOVA-PRES-TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev October 31 TASS—The situation in southern Moldavia, where the republican parliament introduced a state of emergency, has somewhat normalized.

On Wednesday, Gagauz volunteer detachments and those of workers who arrived from the Dnester left bank, were being withdrawn from the region, as well as Moldavian volunteers who arrived to the borders of the emergency region in accordance with the decision of the Moldavian Parliament.

"Volunteer units' withdrawal from the border creates favourable conditions for a constructive dialogue," parliament head of the breakaway Gagauz Republic Stepan Topal told TASS. He said that on Tuesday, Gagauz Parliament session froze all the previously adopted decisions for ten days in order to begin a dialogue with the Moldavian Parliament.

The session has formed a special conciliatory commission to hold talks with the Moldavian Parliament. The commission includes newly elected deputies.

"In the coming days, together with the Moldavian Parliament's provisional committee, led by First Deputy Prime Minister Andrey Sangeli, we will have to complete volunteer units' withdrawal and disbandment," Topal said.

"In future, one representative from the Moldavian and one from the Gagauz sides will service at control posts together with Soviet Interior Ministry units," he said.

On Thursday, the Moldavian Parliament will open its regular session. The previously adopted agenda has changed. The first issue on the agenda is the Moldavian president's report on the social and political situation in the republic and ways to overcome the crisis.

Later, the parliament is expected to adopt a new Moldavian state emblem. The new emblem on the Moldavian state flag will do away with statements that the Moldavian and Romanian state flags are identical. The parliament is also expected to adopt provisions on the national guards, which will be formed on the basis of volunteer detachments.

PRAVDA Reports on Situation

*PM0111124790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2*

[Report by correspondent A. Pasechnik: "Alarming as Before"]

[Text] Kishinev—According to reports from the south of the republic, last night was relatively calm in the emergency situation regions. The situation is completely controlled by the forces of the country's internal troops and the republican militia. Although it can still only be described as explosive.

I think the congress of deputies of all levels held in Komrat also failed to introduce calm. Deputies just elected at the Gagauz territorial elections—as is well known, the Moldova [Moldavia] SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet described these elections as unconstitutional—also took part in its work. At the congress S. Topal, one of the leaders of the Gagauz movement, was elected chairman of the Gagauz republic Supreme Soviet. A mandate commission was elected. The congress imposed a 10-day moratorium on the further formation of the attributes of power and organs of management—during this time it is proposed to conduct a bilateral discussion of the situation and ways out of it.

It was noted that yesterday morning the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet Provisional Committee was to move from Chimishliya to Komrat. But so far this has not been done: The Gagauz side continues to impede the introduction of republican militia onto its territory. At yesterday's press conference in Chimishliya Moldova SSR Prime Minister M. Druk accused the internal troops of the country's Internal Affairs Ministry of slowness and lack of resolve. For its part the troops' leadership states that they do not intend to assume the functions whose execution is the province of the Moldavian militia or to resolve problems which should be eliminated by political and parliamentary methods.

One of these problems is the withdrawal of detachments of Moldavian volunteers [volontery] from the emergency

situation region. The Gagauz insist on this as one of the main conditions for stabilizing the situation. In turn the volunteers' [volontery] leaders are demanding that the volunteer [dobrovolcheskiye] groups be withdrawn from Gagauz territory—from Tiraspol, Rybnitsa, and other regions of the Left Bank.

Some volunteers have already left. The excesses outside the buildings of the party rayon committees and rayon soviet executive committees are, alas, not ceasing. It has been reported that the leadership of the republic Communist Party Central Committee has appealed to M. Snegur, president of the Moldova SSR, and to the prosecutor's office, demanding an end to the lawlessness which is being perpetrated. The newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA has published a statement by the Moldova Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat and Control and Auditing Commission Bureau resolutely protesting and condemning any illegal actions.

On Tuesday evening a 3,000-strong detachment of Moldavian volunteers [dobrovoltsy] blockaded the border post in Stoyanovka village, Kantemirskiy Rayon. An ultimatum was set: Unless the internal troops leave Komrat immediately and no Moldavian militia go there, the post will be destroyed, the border guards and their families wiped out, and the volunteers [dobrovoltsy] will cross to the Romanian side over the nearby railroad bridge. The talks lasted all night. Toward morning K. Oborok, the republic's first deputy prime minister, arrived in the conflict region. This circumstance, and most important the restraint of the border guards, prevented shots from being fired. The volunteers [volontery] have now withdrawn from the post, concentrating next to the Kantemir-Kakhul freeway.

Popular Front Criticizes USSR

*LD0111102690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0900 GMT 1 Nov 90*

[Text] (Yuriy Roshko), chairman of the Executive Committee of the Moldova [Moldavia] People's Front, spoke on national [Moldovan] television late yesterday evening. He read a message from the People's Front to the republican Supreme Soviet session that opens today. As a TASS correspondent reports, the address harshly criticizes the country's leadership for failing to guarantee the territorial integrity of Moldova and to state clearly its position on the creation of the so-called Dnestr and Gagauz republics. There is a reproach for the army which is said to be supporting the separatists. The People's Front has called on the Moldovan legislature to demand the preservation of the republic's integrity from the center. Otherwise, the Supreme Soviet of Moldova should raise the issue secession from the USSR.

'Some Form of Autonomy' Needed

LD0111140190 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1230 GMT 1 Nov 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] We have just received news about the situation in Moldova [Moldavia]. The Gagauz need some form of autonomy. This could be an uyezd [administrative area, now rayon] for example, Kostash, the Moldovan minister of internal affairs, said yesterday on local radio. This statement can be seen as sensational. Prime Minister Mircha Druk announced on Moldovan television's ("Mesager") program that a division would be formed on the basis of detachments of volunteers. The division will be called (Tiras Tegina).

Today the Moldova People's Front is submitting its action program for discussion at the republic's parliament. It contains three points. The first is an immediate withdrawal from the USSR; the second is the immediate withdrawal from Moldova of USSR troops and those of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs; and third, an immediate appeal for armed assistance to Romania.

Talks With Gorbachev Sought

LD011114590 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1055 GMT 1 Nov 90

[By MOLDOVA-PRESS-TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev, 1 Nov (TASS)—Volunteers returning from the south of the republic late on Wednesday evening again gathered in front of the building of the Moldova [Moldavia] Communist Party Central Committee. They demanded in a resolute manner that members of the Central Committee express their attitude toward the destructive processes taking place in Moldova and toward the adoption of specific measures to stabilize the situation.

In this connection, a plenum of the Moldova Communist Party Central Committee was urgently convened. Representatives of the demonstrators were invited to it. After a discussion of the situation which has arisen, the plenum decided to send a delegation to Moscow led by Petr Luchinskiy, member of the politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moldova Communist Party Central Committee. The purpose of the trip is to obtain a meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR president, in order to ascertain his personal viewpoint on the development of events in the Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic, and also to demand effective measures to stabilize the situation in Moldova.

As has already been reported, the Moldova Communist Party Central Committee published a statement on Wednesday in which it came out against tackling national, political, and other conflicts by force; by the whipping up of passions; and by mass psychosis. "Civil

peace and accord", the statement stresses, "is the decisive condition for national rebirth and the guarantee for resolving all the vital problems of Moldova."

'Mass Rally' Held at Party Building

LD3110195790 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT
31 Oct 90

[By MOLDOVA-PRES-TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev October 31 TASS—Members of volunteer detachments, returning home from southern Moldavia where a state of emergency has been declared, today held a mass rally in front of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee building.

They demanded that the Communist Party cease being "the hand of Moscow on Moldavian territory and protect the interests of Moldavians" and stop "playing a double game and deceiving its own people".

Some demonstrators shouted "Down with communism" and "No Moldavians in the separatist party". Participants in the rally reproached Communist Party Central Committee members for their failure to express their attitude to events in southern Moldavia.

National Army Battalion Set Up

LD0111141190 Moscow World Service in English
1210 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The reports that have begun coming in from the Soviet southern Republic of Moldova [Moldavia], which was closed until Wednesday, say the local situation is relatively calm and fully controlled by interior troops and republican police. Radio Moscow's Vitaliy Gurov maintains however that it is still explosive:

[Gurov] One can hardly say everything is calm and quiet in a relatively small area teeming with interior troops, armored vehicles, paratroopers and republican policemen, to say nothing of the hundreds and even thousands of volunteers defending the interests of the Gagauz who have proclaimed their independence, and the Moldovans pressing for the territorial integrity of the republic. [passage omitted]

In the meantime Moldovan leaders have given a news conference in the district center of Chimishliya bordering on the Gagauz Republic. The Moldovan premier Mr. Mirca Druk suggested that the regional situation had been negatively affected by the failure of interior troops to observe the state of emergency rules and that their inability to act promptly might lead to unpredictable consequences. Additional tensions, in Mr. Druk's opinion, arose out of the presence in Komrat of volunteer detachments that had arrived from the largely Russian speaking territory adjacent to the Dniestr River.

Moldova's leadership expressed dissatisfaction with the poor interaction between interior troops and the local police. [passage omitted]

And here's yet another alarming report. The first national army battalion called (Tiras Teginiya) has been set up in Moldova and equipped with 26 motor vehicles purchased from the money donated by residents. Premier Mirca Druk has congratulated the personnel on the beginning in practical terms of the formation of Moldova's national army.

The situation in the republic remains extremely tense and any unlawful actions may end in a drama. Peace and order may be restored only given constraint and the people's readiness to understand each other.

Dnestr Moldavian Official Opposes Separatism

91UN0128A Kishinev MOLDOVA SUVERANA
in Russian No 8-10, 6 Oct 90 pp 6-8

[Report on interview with I.N. Smirnov, chairman of the Temporary Supreme Soviet of the "so-called Dnestr Moldova SSR," by Oazu Naktoy, political director of MOLDOVA-PRESS on 2 October; place not given: "Separatism Is Bad"]

The most incredible rumors and conjectures are being spread in connection with the anticonstitutional proclamation of the Gagauz and Dnestr republics in Moldavia—particularly pertaining to the personalities of the initiators of the proclamation of these republics who are also their leaders. One of them, who plays far from the least important role in this matter, I.N. Smirnov, is the chairman of the Temporary Supreme Soviet of the so-called Dnestr Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. At the request of the political director of the national agency MOLDOVA-PRESS, Oazu Naktoy, he agreed to give us an interview that we think will enable the readers to get an idea of one of today's leaders of the Dnestr area, his life and activity, and his political views and convictions.

[Naktoy] Igor Nikolayevich, please tell us a little about yourself and in more detail about the path that has led you to this office.

[Smirnov] I have an ordinary background for someone of the generation of the early forties. I am Russian by nationality. I have studied both in Russia and in the Ukraine, and my fate has been linked to the fate of my parents. I studied in a trade school and have worked as a lathe operator, a milling machine operator, and a plane operator—in a word, as a worker. Then I completed the institute. I worked as deputy shop chief and then shop chief, deputy head engineer, and deputy general director of an association in the Ukraine. At one time because of disagreements on principle, as it were with party organs, I was fired. Then I was offered a job at the Elektromash plant. That is how I ended up in Tiraspol. I am married, have two grown children, two granddaughters, and one grandson.

...I was brought to this office by the results of the elections to the city soviet when the deputies entrusted me with being in charge of it. There is a lot to say about what happened and how it happened, but that is basically it—I was elected by the session.

[Naktoy] When you lived in this territory, in Tiraspol, which constitution did you obey?

[Smirnov] We obeyed the USSR Constitution, the Constitution of the Moldavian SSR, and all of its laws adopted before August 1989.

[Naktoy] To which organization do you belong?

[Smirnov] I am a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

[Naktoy] Do you recognize the right of the Soviet people, and consequently the Moldavian people to self-determination, right up to the point of leaving the Union in keeping with the Union Constitution?

[Smirnov] We recognize the right of any people to self-determination, but only the people. Taking today's realities into account, it is the people who should decide for themselves, regardless of how this matter is discussed. But probably the most important and concrete discussion will be a referendum. It will reflect the opinion of each individual precisely. Regardless of what we want or hope for, the right of the individual in my opinion is above all other rights. It is necessary for each individual, regardless of where he may live, to be free in his choice and his rights should be protected from all viewpoints—economic and political.

[Naktoy] Did you think about how the act of proclamation of the Dnestr Moldavian SSR would fit in with the Helsinki agreements to which it is now fashionable to refer?

[Smirnov] I can answer that question with another question: How can one violate the laws and the constitution in effect in the USSR and at the same time say that the laws must not be violated? You probably know what I am talking about. I am talking about the fact that when the laws of the Moldova [Moldavia] SSR Supreme Soviet are adopted, very frequently the Union laws and Constitution are violated. Our country's president has spoken out quite clearly about this.

It has nothing to do with separatism—whether it is good or bad. It is bad mainly from the economic standpoint. In the world today, conversely, everything is directed toward integration, unification, and expansion of the framework of cooperation....

But in our case there was no other way out because the majority of people living in the Dnestr area—or, as they are called, the people with the different language—have lost faith in the future. Although the deputies from the Dnestr area to the Moldova SSR made sufficient use of all parliamentary methods, right down to the creation of

a coordination commission which has practically not taken a single step, we got nowhere—the laws were adopted too hastily.

If one is to speak about the attributes of administration of the state, that is those institutions that provide for the enforcement of the laws, the situation becomes even more complex. Look at what is happening—a course has been taken toward a mononational system. Is this right when there are representatives of various nationalities living in the republic! Since we have already mentioned the Helsinki agreements, let us not forget that the interests of the individual come before all else.

[Naktoy] I would like to clarify my idea somewhat. When I spoke of the Helsinki agreements, I had in mind primarily the principle of the inviolability of the postwar boundaries. Later perhaps we can discuss the human rights declaration signed by Vyshinskiy in 1948.

[Smirnov] Well, let us figure out who was the first to violate them. When discussing the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact that we condemn today, the Supreme Soviet made a mistake, in our opinion. We think that everything pertaining to history does not have to be approved at meetings of the legislature. This is a matter for scholarship and scholars. When the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet adopted the decree in which it wrote "to approve the conclusion of the commission"—and that is the exact phrase—from a legal standpoint, we were severed from the republic. That is, we are actually not violating anything. The USSR is the USSR. But when it no longer exists that is another matter. But I think we must have the Union.

[Naktoy] Does the temporary Supreme Soviet that you head intend to do anything in connection with the fact that the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet has demanded the abolition of the anticonstitutional decisions that were adopted previously.

[Smirnov] The thing is that in this situation the republic recognizes *de jure* and *de facto*. It is as though the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet did not consider us, and like many other people I can call the decree they adopted—an ultimatum. This is direct intervention that means an unwillingness to solve political problems by democratic means. And what will we do? Naturally, our temporary Supreme Soviet is working out different variants. Time will tell which of them will be viable.

[Naktoy] I read in the weekly SOYUZ your assertion to the effect that the Second Congress of the People's Front of Moldova has adopted a decision for the unification of the Moldova SSR and Romania. I was a delegate to this congress and I can say with certainty that there was no such decision. How do you explain this situation? Is your statement not political sabotage against the Moldova SSR with the purpose of undermining the confidence of the USSR in it as a potential economic partner?

[Smirnov] That is not exactly what I said. I discussed an idea that sounded simple at the Second Congress the

People's Front of Moldova: There is no Moldavian language, there is the Romanian language. That is, if one were to continue with this idea—if there are no Moldavians there are Romanians, and so forth, and it turns out that two Romanian states cannot exist separately since that would be nonsense. That is approximately what I said. The fact that the People's Front....

No, excuse me. For the argument that arose regarding the article in the weekly SOYUZ (No. 36, September 1990), the agency cites an excerpt from that interview: "...Past congresses have shown that they (he has in mind the residents of the left bank of the Dnestr—agency note) support the decision to create an independent republic. The impetus for that was the decision of the People's Front of Moldova for the republic to join Romania. Through its historical roots the Left Bank is related to Russia and the USSR and hence the people's desire to remain on 'their own bank.'"

[Naktoy] But there are plenty of examples in which the state boundaries do not coincide with the ethnic ones. Azeri people, for example, are divided by the USSR-Iran border. Does this mean that we should try to accomplish this same restructuring all over the globe?

[Smirnov] No, of course you are right in saying that one cannot transfer one principle to various situations. But nonetheless one can make an assumption: Why not? The example is the same with the two Germanys. Was this good? It was bad. When there are no special obstacles to unification, such assumptions are possible. This is basically why this idea came about. But let me repeat once again: From my side there was no statement according to which at the Second Congress of the People's Front of Moldavia a categorical announcement on the unification of the Moldova SSR with Romania was made.

[Naktoy] But what about what was published in SOYUZ?

[Smirnov] Unfortunately I did not read that. It would seem that Svetlana Gamova had her own interpretation. But the press is the press. After all, the correspondent was taking down what they were saying verbally and certain distortions are quite possible.

[Naktoy] Do you think that the possibility of the unification of Moldova and Romania inevitably involves the violation of the rights of individual humans living on this territory?

[Smirnov] If it does not take place in keeping with the law, which above all envisions a referendum, it could lead to an inevitable violation of individual rights.

[Naktoy] Tell us, please, from your standpoint—that of a person who has lived little more than a year on the territory of Moldova—which specific points of the laws on languages, against which Tiraspol has spoken out so ardently and held strikes, discriminates against you personally.

[Smirnov] Me personally?! Well, you know that there in the laws.... If we are to speak specifically about a law, let us take a fresh example—you know, some judges were not approved because they did not know the state language.

[Naktoy] Excuse me, let me clarify: Do you have complaints against the law or against those who are trying to get ahead of the time periods for its implementation. I asked you which concrete points of these laws do not suit you as a person who has already lived for a year in the sphere of influence of these laws?

[Smirnov] The laws are to go into effect here sometime around 1994-96.... Therefore, in my opinion, it does not seem fair to ask that question. Since they have not gone into force yet, I personally have not been discriminated against this year. But if one looks at them from the standpoint of the rights of the individual, there are certain examples—and I shall not discuss them—in which people do not even want to talk in a language other than Moldavian. Maybe that is the way it was before—I will not judge.

[Naktoy] May I repeat this once again. Having once been the vice chairman of the People's Front for interethnic relations, I have repeatedly asked the question I just asked you and which you still have not answered. We have the laws before us. Tell me, please, which specific point do you consider discriminatory and to be violating the rights of the individual. Ultimately these laws were considered at the most diverse levels, and not a single office expressed any such complaints. Excuse me for my persistence, but I should like to clarify: Is this grounds for speculation or is it really discrimination?

[Smirnov] In the first place, the laws legalizing one state language, from the standpoint of the functioning of languages are, I think, to a certain degree discrimination against people living in Moldavia. But regarding the idea that they were "considered," as you assure us they were, here I disagree with you. For one draft law was considered, and then a week before the session another draft of the law appeared which led to the political explosion—although, if you will recall, 11 amendments to it were proposed.

They pertain to what was discussed above, having in mind proclaiming one language as the state language and crowding the Russian language out of the sphere of official use. Further, in Article 7 there is a list of spheres in which the workers must know the state language. You will agree that this is in some measure a ban on one occupation or another. This in my view also implies an encroachment on the rights of the individual.

Further, when it comes to organs of state and executive authority, business correspondence is conducted in the state language, which is introduced gradually. I think this is quite wrong. Here is why. What about the ispolkom [executive committee] of a soviet on whose territory there is a dense population of Russians and Ukrainians?

Should correspondence be conducted in the state language with translations into the Russian language? I think it is necessary to address the republic organs of power and administration in the state language, but in the local areas they should use the language spoken by the majority of the population. The same thing is true in industrial enterprises, say the Tiraspol PKhBO [expansion not identified] where of course it would be expedient for the majority of workers from the nearby villages to conduct correspondence in the state language. But at enterprises where 90 percent of the collective are Russian speakers, this cannot be done from either the economic or the legal standpoint, for this makes the people's work more difficult. They probably should have envisioned the possibility of allowing the labor collectives of the enterprises and institutions to solve this problem for themselves. The law also contains a number of other provisions that I do not think were adequately considered. This pertains to business correspondence, court proceedings, and the use of languages in the spheres of education and culture. I think that now we are largely repeating past mistakes: While rectifying the distortions that have been allowed, we are creating them in the other direction.

[Naktoy] Igor Nikolayevich, let us conduct a mental experiment. Let us assume that fate had cast you not in Tiraspol but in Kishinev. Do you agree that as a leader of an enterprise and not knowing the state language you would force your subordinates to use only the language you knew? That is, whether you like it or not, you are depriving them of the right and possibility of using their native language in their homeland?

[Smirnov] No, I do not think so because the most important conditions for the leader of any enterprise are competence and professionalism. Language problems can be solved as they are abroad—with the help of an interpreter. I agree that when you are in a national republic you must learn its language. But you should not be forced to study by a law, but rather on the basis of a recognized need.

[Naktoy] On the territory of what you have proclaimed to be the Dnestr Moldova SSR it is intended to introduce a minimum of three state languages—Moldavian, Russian, and Ukrainian. Tell me, please, how do you regard the fact that not only our scholars but also eminent language experts from Leningrad and other cities speak of the existence of only one Romanian literary language. In UNESCO somewhere there is a list of about 6,000 languages that also gives only the Romanian language and not Moldavian. Do you think it is a great mistake that with time the concept of the "Romanian language" makes its way into people's awareness and not Moldavian? Is it necessary to make an elaborate policy out of this?

[Smirnov] I think you should ask this question of the Romanians or the Moldavians. As for the scholars, they have almost always been filling some social order. But I am not a specialist in this.

Reportage on Belorussian Legislative Sessions

Interpublic Coordination Urged

PM0111113590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Mikhail Shimanskiy: "Appeal from Belorussian Parliament"]

[Text] Minsk—The special appeal adopted by the Belorussian Legislature to the Supreme Soviets of all Union republics is linked with the transition to the market.

The Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet believes that it would be expedient to carry out the implementation of economic reform and the formation of market relations within the framework of a single economic space set up by sovereign republics. It is necessary to take account of the high level of integration in economic and management ties between the republics and the loss of national economic administration by central departments and USSR organs.

It is quite obvious, the appeal states, that each republic will implement economic transformations with an eye to its own specific conditions and national traditions in accordance with the adopted declarations on state sovereignty. However, the implementation of these programs within the framework of a single economic space is inconceivable without the elaboration and adoption of mutually agreed basic principles and regulations governing the implementation of economic reform.

Recognizing its responsibility for our peoples' destiny, the Belorussian Legislature appeals to sovereign Union republic Supreme Soviets to immediately set up an interlegislative commission of Supreme Soviets. It would discuss and coordinate the most fundamental provisions relating to the formation of market relations. Will the Belorussian legislators' voice, containing so much alarm and concern, be heeded?

Appeals for Help With Chernobyl

LD0111122490 Moscow TASS in English 1159 GMT
1 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Bogdanov and Aleksandr Kryzhanovskiy]

[Text] Minsk November 1 TASS—The Belorussian parliament has appealed to the Soviet president and parliament for help in clearing up after the Chernobyl nuclear accident.

The appeal stresses that the republic is unable to cope with this task itself. There are 400,000 children living in the polluted zone. Belorussia is able to meet only 11 per cent of their requirements in special foods. The Belorussian Supreme Soviet calls for the allocation of 40 million roubles up to 1995. They will be spent on medical equipment and clean vitaminised products for the population.

The appeal to the federal parliament stresses that the lack of legislative enactments to solve vital problems in polluted territories tends to aggravate political and socio-psychological tension in the disaster areas.

The Belorussian parliament called on the USSR Supreme Soviet to amend the agenda of its current session and include these problems in it.

Legislature Concludes Session

LD3110190390 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT
31 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Bogdanov and Aleksandr Kryzhanovskiy]

[Text] Minsk October 31 TASS—The second, extraordinary session of the Belorussian parliament has ended after approving a number of measures to introduce market relations in the republic.

The parliament approved the government programme and began work on a package of regulatory enactments to steer the transition.

However, despite intense efforts, not all problems were solved. The parliament approved the first reading of the bills on leasing and property, the republican land code and some other resolutions. It promulgated the law on temporary measures to protect the Belorussian consumer market.

The third, regular session is due to open in early December to consider the remaining part of the package. One of the major bills due to be approved by the third session is the law on basic principles of democracy in Belorussia, which is expected to give the final legal shape to provisions first formulated in the declaration of the republic's state sovereignty. Last week, the parliament approved many of these provisions, but the whole text was not approved.

In fact, the parliament voted against its own earlier decisions aiming to separate spheres of state and party influence. Articles stipulating the depoliticisation of the army and law enforcement agencies also failed to collect the needed number of votes. Deputies voted down the bill by refusing to approve the "abbreviated" variant.

At its closing session, the parliament approved the appointment of Eduard Shirkovskiy, former first deputy chairman of the republican State Security Committee, as the new KGB chief.

Students Rally in Minsk for Education Reform

LD3110201790 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT
31 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Valentina Menshikova]

[Text] Minsk October 31 TASS—The Belorussian Democratic Student Movement held a sanctioned rally in the square in front of the House of Political Enlightenment in Minsk this evening.

Participants called for a reform of the education system in the republic. Speakers emphasized that young people appeared to be the least protected part of society in a period of surging inflation and the transition to a market. Students said they could no longer reconcile themselves to their lack of social rights.

Participants addressed a resolution to the Belorussian Education Ministry. It sets out proposals for altering curricula, revising the planned enrollment of students and turnout of specialists, for admitting to educational establishments all those willing to study, introducing free attendance of lectures and shunning term certification.

There are 33 higher and 138 secondary schools in the republic. They enroll about 350,000 young people.

Content of Belorussian Party Bylaws Debated

91UN0149A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 2 Oct 90 pp 1-2

[Article by SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA correspondent L. Yunchik under the "On the Eve of the Belorussian Communist Party" rubric: "Do We Need Our Own Bylaws?"]

[Text] "Permit me to use the free microphone to express my opinion." That is what V. Svyatskaya, chief of the party committee party office at the tractor plant, asked the chairman at the end of the debate on the draft Bylaws [ustav] for the Belorussian Communist Party by party activists and scholars in Minsk.

"Our entire discussion today," Valentina Anatolyevna said as she started to share her grievance with those present, "reminds me of a banquet taking place in the middle of a plague. Why? It turns out that today the most important thing for the republic party organization is to draw up its own bylaws. We do have that as yet unexercised right and we are fully able to exercise it. But today no set of bylaws will protect Communists' legal rights or drive the bureaucrats out of the party and deprive them of their privileges. Speaking on a broader scale, the bylaws will not add to our authority if we do not clarify our program statements and actions. We must therefore listen to the opinion of our colleagues from Lithuania—they have burned themselves with something similar—and not create obstacles for ourselves that we can then courageously overcome and applaud ourselves for doing so.

"In general" (the conclusion was harsh and categorical) "I am convinced that we have merely been shaking a rattle like a child: Hush hush, little one, yes you shall have your own bylaws. But is this really the most important thing for us today? In my opinion it makes sense to consider this carefully. Proceeding from the

draft action program for the Belorussian Communist Party, it was necessary to start preparing for the congress and to address this forum."

I cite this statement almost in its entirety for a purpose. In my opinion it has become the quintessence of the stormy debate on a problem that is of vital importance to Communists in the republic and that generated the heated passion which boiled in the hall.

No, I do not think that it is chance that representatives even from Lithuania came to take part in the debate. In their statements I. Butrimovich, first secretary of the Sovetskiy Rayon Committee of the Latvian Communist Party (CPSU) from Vilnius City; and his like-minded colleague, V. Gribanov, second secretary of the Oktyabrskiy Rayon Committee in the Lithuanian capital, tried—and we must give them their due—not without success to convince those present that a republic with its own bylaws is nothing but a course toward federalism in the party, and they called on them not to adopt such bylaws in the interests of the unity both of the Communists of Belorussia and of the other republics.

"Do the Communists of Belorussia want to secede from the Union? Do they not realize that adopting their own bylaws will hardly help them, but will lead only to a situation in which party members will not know whether they are in a republic or a Union party?" This was the puzzlement that Vladimir Alekseyevich expressed, and he predicted that for that reason many people would hand in their party cards.

"When we were discussing the organizational foundations of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU), we thought seriously about whether even the very name of the document would harm party unity," he said to those present; and he, along with his colleague, proposed that the document adopted by the congress should talk only about the organizational features of the Belorussian party organization.

It was the opinion of both of them that the split in the Brazauskas party began immediately when the cunning word "status" was tossed at the Communists of Lithuania. So, the guests warned, a party's adoption of its own bylaws is a very serious step that is fraught with much trouble.

This uneasiness on the part of the Lithuanian comrades, who called on the Communists of Belorussia to consider the interests of like-minded people from the other republics, also permeated many of the party activists and scholars from the Minsk Higher Party School who took part in the debate on the two drafts of Bylaws for the Belorussian Communist Party—the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee draft and an alternative drawn up by vehicle operator V. Shchukin (published in SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA on 7 September and 22 September).

The debate opened with reports from those who had drawn up the drafts. One of the authors of the first

draft—P. Dubina, deputy chief of the Organizational Party Work and Cadre Work Department of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee—candidly admitted that there are two concepts and two views of the document under which Communists in the republic must live in the future. Some are inclined toward the thought that such a document should have been adopted at the recent congress along with the CPSU Bylaws. Others are convinced that it is necessary to adopt their own bylaws on the basis of the Union Bylaws, in which provision should be made for normative registration of republic problems, consideration given to national traditions, and so forth. Those who support this view point out that without our own program and bylaws we will be unable to enhance the status of the republic party organization. The Belorussian Communist Party will simply not be supportable.

Paragraph 22 of the CPSU Bylaws gives republic Communists the right to implement this idea, and most of them probably welcomed it. In any event, this is the impression that is created that when you read the abundant mail being sent to the editorial office dealing with the upcoming 31st Belorussian Communist Party Congress. But perhaps we are really not far-sighted enough and there is reason to think very seriously about the warnings given by the party workers from Vilnius.

I am sure that this question was raised in the minds of many of those who took part in the debate. I think that the question dominated even over the dissatisfaction that was evoked in many people by the official draft bylaws, on which subject many sharp and partly justified criticisms were made during the debate.

Some of those who spoke called on workers in the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee to look most carefully and with interest at the alternative draft, and they offered it as an example for many of the positions and approaches made, although it must be admitted that even here critical appraisals were heard. Incidentally, V. Shchukin himself admitted that at one time he had engaged in work on the CPSU Bylaws because he was convinced that the Communist Parties of the Union republics should have a unified set of bylaws. But at the 28th CPSU Congress Valeriy Alekseyevich's work was not reviewed. After the congress Shchukin realized that it would rather be the case that each republic Communist Party would adopt its own bylaws, and so he set to work to prepare a new draft which, as those taking part in the sharp debate noted, does not differ conceptually from the official draft even though there are many differences.

In my opinion the statement made by Higher Party School Docent V. Vladimirov was very indicative. Let me quote a fragment of it.

"In the official draft bylaws, a number of democratic norms have not been totally worked out. Here for example is a definition of the rights of the minority. The draft defines a minority as at least one-fifth of party

members. But why not one-third or one-tenth? These figures mean nothing. The rights of even two or three people who find themselves in a minority must be considered. They can express their view in the press and in supporting reports, and have their opinion recorded in the minutes.

"In the standards for elections (paragraph 9)," Valentin Andreyevich continued, "it says nothing about elections being held on the basis of alternative candidates and on a competitive basis. Why are we afraid of these things? Why can we not make provision for them? (And here, V. Shchukin was considering this factor in his own draft) It should be emphasized that even the apparatus is set up on a competitive basis. That same paragraph says nothing about procedure for elections to the party committee. The CPSU Bylaws provide for the party committee to decide on the procedure for its own elections. So why, I ask, are the primary party organizations and the Communists themselves deprived of this opportunity? I propose that the congress elect not only the first secretary but all secretaries of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee. And in general I believe that the words 'can' and 'as a rule' should not be in the Bylaws that are adopted."

Many such proposals and claims against those who drew up the party document were heard. We do not have room to list all of them. Indeed, on the grand scale they are all details. We must see the main thing behind them. This is precisely what many of those participating in the debate called for. V. Ukhov, a docent at the Higher Party School, stated that "we are making a fundamental mistake if we follow this path," and he appealed for people to listen to Lenin's warning and not to trifle with things like party unity.

To the point, Vladimir Anatolyevich himself participated in the work on the Tsekov version of the bylaws, and he believes that he did not commit any major errors. Perhaps he is right, but we are put on our guard by the fact that, without sharing their ideas on the need to create their own kind of "company" bylaws, some other comrades have drawn up their own drafts.

In and of itself the precedent is quite strange and bodes nothing good. And I think that A. Taranovich, a driver from the bus administration in the municipal services, was right when, after seeing a statement in the newspaper, on his own initiative he came to take part in the debate and announced from the dais that in the official draft there is too much of the professorial-didactic approach and tendency. After making his objections to the those who were talking about the differences between the proposed draft and the present CPSU Bylaws, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich stated directly that he could see "no special differences and essentially it is a copy of the Union document."

But speakers noted that even here astonishing metamorphoses had taken place with the preamble in which, as is

known, a compressed description of the party is provided and its aims and tasks are briefly set forth. Comparison with the Union Bylaws shows that expressions such as "creatively developing the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin;" "insuring conditions for free and comprehensive development of the individual;" and "strive to achieve civic consensus" have been omitted from the republic draft. One scholar asked from the dais: "Is it by chance that they have been omitted, or should we look for a reason behind this?" To this we want to reply with another question: Did it not even occur to him that chance is almost completely excluded in this kind of document?

In this case, however, those who drew up the draft bylaws also encountered an objective difficulty—that no new program, whose formulation is usually set in abridged form in the preamble to the bylaws, had yet been drawn up.

The logic of party life is this: The bylaws are undoubtedly a document that is important and extremely essential for Communists. But it is even more important for them to have a new action program that is not at variance with the spirit of the times. There is still not even a draft even though little time remains before the 31st Belorussian Communist Party Congress. Is it really to anyone's advantage to scrap the latest debate after the draft has been published? Or are the best minds of our Communist Party incapable of bringing forth this long-awaited document? Is it that they have not become accustomed to moving before Moscow does?

As the debate showed, these are the issues that must be answered without delay. The reality of recent months has been such that it can be said without exaggeration that delay will be like death. Let me cite several what we might call reports from debate participants that have already "touched down."

"Some 49 people discussed the draft CPSU Bylaws some time ago, and quite noisily, and sketched out a decent package of proposals. Now 21 Communists were to take part in the debate on the draft bylaws for the Belorussian Communist Party but only seven turned up. That is our theory and practice; there you have it! The bylaws propose that the primary party organizations be the foundation of the party, but this foundation itself is often sick. There are serious misgivings that the primary party organizations can be strong, and for this reason I have changed my earlier views: I used to support elimination of the rayon and city committees. It is quite possible that there will be a version in which any party committee will have to be outside the boundaries of the enterprise. The Belorussian Communist Party Bylaws must make provision for this. It is quite possible that the rayon committees will have to assume the functions of the primary party organizations, and that Communists will be registered there." This is what worker A. Taranovich said in his usual categorical manner.

A. Prokopenko, secretary of the party committee at the "Granat" Scientific-Production Association, also stated that he does not have the time to deal with the paperwork on those leaving the party. Thus, at one shop meeting of the party organization, 22 statements of resignation from the party were reviewed. In this far from simple situation for the enterprise party organization, a draft was submitted that in the opinion of Aleksey Ananyevich was more conservative than the CPSU Bylaws. Meanwhile, many wavering Communists are waiting for the upcoming congress in order to provide a final answer to the question of whether or not they will remain in the party ranks.

Such is the range of opinions and judgments—demanding, categorical, and sometimes uncompromising—about the drafts of the Belorussian Communist Party Bylaws. Many of those involved in the debate have had doubts about the advisability of adopting their own bylaws. But other voices have also been heard. For example, engineer M. Zubovich argued his conclusions thus: Given the existence of Union codes nothing prevents Belorussian jurists from being guided by republic codes. So why can Communists not take the same approach?

"I propose," said teacher V. Vernigorov, the last to speak, "that the newspaper SOVETSKAYA BELORUS-SIYA publish material on our stormy debate, and next to the report it should carry a questionnaire whose answers would make it possible to clarify Communists' opinions on how well they agree that the Belorussian Communist Party should be a federative Communist Party and have its own bylaws, or whether they see a need to adopt only organizational principles. If necessary, these can also be published. We should try to achieve a situation in which it will be the Communists and not the congress that will decide whether or not we need our own bylaws. The response to this should help us discover their opinion."

What is there to say: It was a very resonant and timely appeal to the newspaper editor. Of course we cannot leave it unanswered. And so, as Vladimir Ivanovich suggested, along the material on the debate we are publishing the latest "Readers' Referendum." We earnestly request our readers and all Communists in the republic to fill out the questionnaire and send it in to the SOVETSKAYA BELORUSIYA editorial offices within 10 days, marked "Readers' Referendum." Remember: the future of the republic's Communist Party depends on you.

READERS' REFERENDUM

Circle the number of the answer that matches your opinion.

1. How do you see the Belorussian Communist Party?
 01. As a republic organization of the CPSU
 02. As an independent Belorussian Communist Party, part of the CPSU on a federative basis
 03. Your own idea, if you have one.

II. Is it necessary for the Belorussian Communist Party to have its own Bylaws?

04. Yes

05. No bylaws are needed, it is advisable to adopt only organizational principles

06. Neither bylaws nor organizational principles are necessary

07. Name your own scenario, if you have one.

III. If you believe that the Belorussian Communist Party should have its own bylaws, which of the published drafts is preferable?

08. the draft drawn up by the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee (see SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA 7 September)

09. the draft drawn up by communist V. Shchukin (see SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA 22 September)

10. neither

11. what is your own opinion?

We thank everyone who fills out the questionnaire, cuts it out, and sends it to the editor at 220041, Minsk, Leninskiy Prospekt, 77, editorial offices of SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA ("Readers' Referendum") before 13 October 1990.

Mogilev Oblast Elects New First Party Secretary

PM3110150990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[BELTA-TASS report under general heading: "Frank Talk Under Way"]

[Text] Mogilev, 28 Oct—The oblast report and election party conference continued for two days. There was a keen and frank talk about the place and role of Communists and primary organizations and committees in the solution of the practical affairs of perestroika, the democratization of internal party life, and the enhancement of the primary organizations' activity.

V.A. Popov, who previously worked as second secretary of the obkom [oblast committee], was elected first secretary of the Mogilev Obkom.

The conference was addressed by Ye.Ye. Sokolov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, and by V.M. Falin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Ukraine Introduces Consumer Market Protection

LD3110220590 Moscow TASS in English 2135 GMT
31 Oct 90

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev November 1 TASS—The decision on "the protection of the consumer market in the Ukraine" by

the republican government which was published by the local press, provoked contradictory feelings among the Ukrainian population.

The decision was discussed by the republican parliament on Wednesday. It provides for the introduction of coupon booklets on November 1, giving consumers the right to purchase industrial goods and foodstuffs with coupons.

Under the decision, wages and salaries will be fully paid. However, 70 per cent of wages and salaries will be paid in coupons and the rest in roubles.

Commenting on this action, Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, a co-author of the decision, said that the action is aimed at protecting the consumer market in the republic and controlling the shadow economy and profiteering.

In his opinion, coupons will help level quantities of cash and goods in the possession of Ukrainians and prevent the outflow of goods from the republic, since only Ukrainians will have such coupons.

On the other hand, vice-president of the Ukrainian Parliament Vladimir Grinev believes that the decision will not help the republic pull out of the crisis.

Many Ukrainians, including lawmakers, were puzzled by the fact that, as was the case in the so-called stagnation years, the government had drafted and adopted a decision in complete secrecy without taking advice of the people and of the republican parliament.

However, president of the Ukrainian Parliament believes that there is no need to submit every important decision by the government for the consideration of parliament.

Otherwise, some deputies will try to paralyse the government's activities or to shift the blame for its mistakes onto parliament.

The government spent 1.5 million roubles to issue coupons for November. On November 1, trading organisations will receive, together with roubles, their equivalent issued by printshops.

After the debate which ended on Wednesday evening, the session decided that coupons will be introduced on November 1. However, adjustments are possible in future.

Appeal Issued For Restraining Reform Process

91P50014A Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian 2
Oct 90 p 1

[Letter to the editor: "Is It Not Time To Moderate Ambition?"]

[Text] As early as spring when the local chapter of Rukh conducted its first rallies, some of the people from our

factory went, being interested in seeing and understanding what the "saviors of the people" want. However, now workers say enough! People are tired of the rally blatherings. Enough idle talk! Concrete actions are needed: the harvest is rotting, and winter will soon be at hand. We really pinned our hopes on the new republic parliament, which took the first steps towards the sovereignty of the Ukraine and passed some sensible laws. But the matter did not go any further.

Yesterday's beginning of the session showed that a certain portion of the deputies were quite determined and would not mind grabbing power in the republic. With the support of those who arrived from Lvov, Ternopol and Ivano-Frankovsk, certain deputies sowed dissension in the work of the session.

The crowd of fanatics, which has been developed by politicians grasping for power, today is already poised for action. This was obvious in the recent rally at the Republican Stadium in Kiev, which puts one on guard and disturbs one at the same time. Residents of Dnepropetrovsk noticed this mood in their "guests" as early as August when they arrived for the commemoration of the 500th anniversary of Cossackdom.

At a factory-wide party conference on September 20 of this year, Communists at our factory came to the conclusion that the experiment of Gorbachev and Ryzhkov for the democratization of society has led to an unforeseen event: chauvinism and counterrevolution have raised their heads. People ask: why is the Constitution being ignored? Why are the President's laws and decrees not implemented? Perhaps it is enough just to loosen the reins?

The workers' patience will soon break. And if the authorities do not bring order to the country, we will do it ourselves. Let us appeal to reason.

[Signed] V. Rudenko, electric welder
[Dated] Dnepropetrovsk Diesel Repair Factory

Lvov Declares 1 Nov 'Statehood Day'

LD0111070390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0300 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Lvov residents will have today and tomorrow off, in addition to Saturday and Sunday. The point is that by a decision of the Lvov oblast soviet, 1 November will henceforth be celebrated as Statehood Day [Den Gosudarstvennosti] of the West Ukrainian lands. In honor of this date, celebrations will take place in Lvov today. We will inform you about this in greater detail on our Fanorama program.

Nationalities Council Views Tatars Repatriation

LD0111095190 Moscow TASS in English 0902 GMT
1 Nov 90

[By TASS legislative correspondent Ivan Ivanov, Vladimir Isachevnikov, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—Problems linked with the repatriation of Crimean Tatars were discussed today by the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of Nationalities. A report on this subject was delivered by vice-chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, who heads the State Commission for Crimean Tatars, set up early in 1990.

The discussion focused on concrete measures to return Crimean Tatars to their historical homeland. After the liberation of Crimea from German occupation in 1943, Stalin ordered the deportation of Tatars to distant areas of Russia, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. He accused them of collaborating with the Nazis.

After 1985, when perestroika and destalinisation began in the USSR, the Crimean Tatars launched a campaign for repatriation. Initially a parliamentary commission was set up to look into the problem, which was later replaced by the state commission headed by Vitaliy Doguzhiyev.

Dutch Technology Boosts Chernigov Potato Output

PM0111091390 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Report by L. Ilchenko; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] This year a number of Ukrainian farms have decided to grow potatoes using Dutch technology.

[Reporter] Ten farms in Chernigov Oblast which have introduced the Dutch potato cultivation method have obtained an excellent crop despite this year's unfavorable weather conditions. On the Put Lenina kolkhoz [collective farm] in Semenovskiy Rayon yields of up to 300 quintals of potatoes per hectare have been achieved. You can see the combine going over the last strips of land, and the machine operators are satisfied that they have managed to harvest everything that has been grown before the frosts have set in.

The Dutch technology has also proved highly efficient in the difficult Polesye region. The crop by this year's standards is twice that achieved with other technologies in this region in the past. In order to avoid losses, potato grading has been organized right here on the farm at a specially equipped potato reception facility. They have managed to cope using their own resources and machinery, ensuring observance of the foreign experts' recommendations for the cultivation, harvesting, and processing of potatoes. Now the Chernigov Oblast farmers are willing to share their experience with others.

Caucasus

Armenia Introduces Ban on Specific Exports

LD0111114190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1000 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] The Armenian Council of Ministers has developed a package of measures to stabilize the consumer

market in the republic. According to the decision that has been adopted, establishments and organizations, including cooperatives, are prohibited from exporting foodstuffs, medicines, and construction materials outside the republic. This decision does not extend to the produce that is being dispatched in accordance with interrepublican agreements.

Armenia Endorses Portions of Draft Property Law

NC011120290 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1630 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet continued its deliberations yesterday [30 October]. Chaired by Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the Armenian legislature debated the draft law on property. It is an important document which will help to stabilize Armenia's economy and extricate it from crisis. This law, which aims to ensure the formation and development of the real foundations for market relations until the civil code of the Republic is compiled, to consolidate market system and property relations, and to develop different forms of ownership, will assist the progress of the Armenian Republic which has initiated a course toward independent statehood.

The deputies examined the bill presented by the government and put forward a number of principled criticisms regarding specific articles and interpretations of the draft law.

After the clarification provided by Grant Bagratyan, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and detailed examinations and debate, the legislature voted to accept the first three sections of the law on property. These sections refer to the general principles behind the law and to the private and collective property.

Today, the legislature continued to debate the bill on property.

Manukyan Comments on Economic, Political Situation

NC3110201890 Yerevan ARMENPRES International
Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Yerevan, 30 Oct (ARMENPRES)—Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers, held a news conference last week at which economic and political issues were raised.

The head of the government outlined the current situation in the republic and then replied to the reporters' many questions. The issue of the supply of foodstuffs and fuel to the people this winter was given special emphasis.

It was stressed that in contrast to the deteriorating socio-economic conditions throughout the Soviet Union, the trend in our republic is toward stability, and this island of stability will be transformed into an island of prosperity. Armenia, which has taken to the path of independence, will also achieve its economic independence. Practical and target-oriented work is being done

in this direction by putting into effect both the experience of horizontal relations and ties and of private ownership.

Foreign economic ties must be encouraged and broadened, taking advantage of the fact that many foreign firms want to enter the Soviet market through Armenia. The importance of establishing a [word indistinct] balance between state and private ownership and of fairly implementing the unavoidable policy of privatization was (?particularly stressed).

Replying to the reporters' questions V. Manukyan, chairman of the Council of Ministers, expressed the conviction that our people will confront and surmount present and future difficulties by [word indistinct] psychological and moral unity.

Armenian Aide Cited on 17 Oct Shooting Incidents

PM3110141590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Oct 90 Moscow Evening Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Bablunyan under "Direct Line" rubric: "Parliament Building Fired On"]

[Text] Yerevan—On Wednesday evening [17 October] the Armenian Supreme Soviet building was fired on with assault rifles by unknown persons. The republic leaders and deputies inside it were not injured.

Commenting on this extraordinary occurrence, Genrikh Khachatryan, republic first deputy prosecutor, described it as an audacious and dangerous crime encroaching on the new authority in Armenia and the democratic transformations it is endeavoring to carry out.

Answering our correspondent's question about the initial results of the investigation being carried out by the republic prosecutor's office, Khachatryan noted:

"Criminal proceedings have been instituted. We already have certain material evidence and there are eyewitness accounts. A link can be traced between the firing on the Supreme Soviet building and the shooting in Yerevan the same night. It can be assumed that it is the handiwork of the same people."

Armenian Nuclear Station Will Not Be Reactivated

NC3110135190 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
0400 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Will the nuclear power station resume operations? An ARMENPRES correspondent asked Vanik Nersesyan, chief engineer of the Armenian nuclear power station, this question in order to dispel the suspicion held by some sections of the population that the nuclear power station will probably be reactivated during the winter to resolve the energy shortage.

Nersesyan said: There are no sufficient grounds for that. To begin with, one of the reactors cannot even be reactivated because some of its parts have already been removed and used for research. No such difficulties exist

with the second reactor, but it cannot be reactivated on time because at least six months are needed to get it ready for such an operation, and then only if the financial and material allocations are made under improbably ideal conditions.

Yet another factor: Even if the power supply in the republic is substantially increased, it will not substantially substitute natural gas in the heating system because the cable industry has not readied itself for such an eventuality and the power transmission system could easily be disrupted. Regular gas supply is the only means to provide heating during the approaching winter. However, if we are talking about the future development of the power in Armenia, nuclear power is still the best option. Such a project could be implemented by building new and safe power stations which would not damage the environment during an accident as happened in the United States. [passage omitted]

Media Reports on NKAO Criticized

NC3110202990 Yerevan International Service
in Armenian 1900 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Excerpts] In its 26 October issue, IZVESTIYA publishes TASS-AZERINFORM reports under the headlines [words indistinct] and in this way almost suggests that the already tense situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] will become even more acute. [passage omitted]

IZVESTIYA as well as the Moscow and Azerbaijani mass media are raising a hue and cry over the so-called Armenian guerrillas, but to put it mildly they never make any mention of the Azerbaijani murdering and thieving brigands. This should, however, come as no surprise since after all the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize laureate had declared from the highest podium of his country that there is a limit to the Azerbaijani people's patience. This was nothing but a battle cry. Even today the Soviet mass media, obedient to directives from above, are keeping silent about the crimes of the Azerbaijani [word indistinct], and present an image of Armenian guerrillas who supposedly sow discord and conflict. The (?deceptions) of the mass media over these last days forebode future tension in the NKAO.

Yerevan Renames Two Avenues and Main Square

NC0111131990 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1000 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Each nation has its own galaxy of great people and famous personages who are considered sacred. Among those sanctities an irreplaceable spot is occupied by Mesrop Mashtots, the guarantor of our existence who armed our people with the most powerful weapons of alphabet and literature, and Grigor the Illuminator. Today, their names were given to the two avenues of our capital.

The Yerevan city soviet executive committee met today and, acceding to the proposals and wishes of the multitudes of Yerevan residents, decided unanimously to rename Lenin Avenue after Mesrop Mashtots and Red Army Street after Grigor the Illuminator. It also made a similar decision regarding the square which is regarded as the (?hub) of our capital. It will henceforth be called the Square of the Republic, thus symbolizing the republic of the reborn Armenia. [passage omitted]

Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Radio Resumes Operations

PM3110144190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 90 p 1

[Unattributed "News in Brief" report]

[Text] Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—Following nine months of silence, work has been resumed by the oblast radio station whose activity was suspended by the military commandant in January when a state of emergency was introduced in the autonomous oblast.

ROK To Invest in Azerbaijan Oil Industry

SK3010231290 Moscow International Service
in Korean 1330 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Dear listeners: An international meeting of businessmen was successfully concluded a few days ago in Baku, capital of Azerbaijan which is situated in the southern part of the Soviet Union. The international meeting was attended by hundreds of company leaders from 43 countries, including the ROK.

Like other Soviet Republics, Azerbaijan is expected in the not-too-distant future to adapt itself to a market economy and is trying to establish direct relations of mutual benefit with foreign trade sectors.

As part of such an effort, the republic hosted a meeting of businessmen in Baku. During the meeting, a series of important contracts were signed.

A station reporter met with ROK businessman Mr Yang In-san, who is representing the recently-established Azerbaijan-Korea Enterprise.

Mr Yang In-san said: "Our firm serves as a link between ROK and Azerbaijan businessmen. Our country's government and businessmen are greatly interested in trade relations with Azerbaijan. In my view, Azerbaijan has great potential, not only in economic terms but also culturally."

According to this ROK business firm president, the ROK and Azerbaijan have a wide range of areas in which to promote cooperation including construction, medicine, TV communications, and agriculture. Most important among these, however, is the petroleum industry.

Petroleum drilling began in the mid-19th Century in the Apesheronskiy Peninsula on which is sited Azerbaijan's capital city Baku. For decades Baku has remained the

primary supplier of this valuable resource—oil. Some of the oil wells dried up naturally and most of the dried up wells have been abandoned.

Specialists have come to Baku from Seoul to study such a situation. Their conclusion is that a staggering amount of money would be necessary to drill and process the oil, but that the result of such an attempt could mean large profit.

Mr Yang In-san commented on this: "We have decided to invest \$5 billion in Azerbaijan's oil industry and to import Baku oil to Seoul. A delegation of authoritative ROK businessmen will visit the Azerbaijan capital on 11 November."

Director Yang In-san has met with Ayaz Motalibov, president of Azerbaijan; Gasan Gasanov, chairman of Council of Ministers; and many people at the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences.

Azerbaijan scholars and ROK businessmen have signed an agreement affirming business ties. Joint ventures also will be established to produce oil equipment together with an enterprise named (Aznevis).

This oil equipment in future is expected to be exported to other countries.

Turkey, Azerbaijan To Exchange Consulates

TA3110160990 *Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish*
30 Oct 90 p 9

[Text] Diyarbakir (TERCUMAN)—Azerbaijan's Council of Ministers has approved plans to open a Turkish Consulate in Baku. Baku Radio reported that the Baku Municipality will build a building for the consulate and the Azeri Ministry of Communications will set up the necessary communications equipment. Furthermore, an Azeri Consulate will be established in Trabzon as part of the agreement between the two countries.

Report Describes Georgian Election Scene

LD3110170190 *Moscow Television Service in Russian*
1230 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Report from Tbilisi by N. Gongadze; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Gongadze] This is how, outside government house, the rejoicing voters of Tbilisi greeted representatives of the Roundtable political bloc which, according to the preliminary calculations of the Central Electoral Commission, has shot ahead and far outstripped its 10 opponents. We are on the threshold of an historical event and look with hope to the future, the speakers stated. Sviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Georgian Helsinki Union and the all-Georgian Society of Saint Ilya the Righteous, congratulated those gathered there and called for the unification and consolidation of the entire national liberation movement.

This meeting took place in the conference hall of the Adzhariya Hotel where the international press center had taken up residence. At a routine briefing for foreign journalist, members of the Roundtable-Free Georgia bloc were invited. Representatives of the Central Electoral Commission voiced a negative attitude to an item on the Television News Service, saying that a report by correspondent Ivanidze to the effect that victory for the Roundtable-Free Georgia bloc allegedly threatens Georgia with civil war was provocative. It has been decided to send an official protest to the management of the USSR Gosteleradio.

[Correspondent A. Gurnov] Of course a free Georgia has the right to make a protest, but precisely the same right as our correspondent has to his own point of view and his own commentary. I think that the point here is that it is now probably time for news bulletins from Moscow to stop being perceived as the official point of view and as some kind of instruction from above. Why can it not simply be the view of our correspondents from the area. And yet Nana Gongadze, another correspondent of ours in Georgia, has just reported on the phone that according to preliminary results, almost 57 percent of voters voted for the Roundtable, while 25 percent voted for the Communists. The remaining parties have not yet acquired the four percent required for a place in parliament.

Gamsakhurdia reported that the first legislative act of the new parliament will be a declaration of the state independence of Georgia. He explained that he could become president of Georgia only when it completely secedes from the Soviet Union and becomes a state recognized by the world community.

Restructured News Agency Established in Georgia

LD3110213890 *Moscow TASS in English* 2106 GMT
31 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Tbilisi October 31 TASS—SAKARTVELO is a new agency which today began supplying news to about 100 periodicals, radio and television in this Transcaucasian republic.

The Georgian Republican Government, which endorsed the rules of the SAKARTVELO news agency, annulled the agency's previous name of GRUZINFORM.

In an interview with TASS, SAKARTVELO deputy head Otar Kapanadze stressed that it was not a mere signboard change. Deep structural changes are taking place in the agency's activity. Relations with TASS and other news agencies in Soviet republics will also be revised.

For instance, information exchange with other agencies will be carried out under contracts. SAKARTVELO will also seek to establish direct links with a number of foreign news agencies.

SAKARTVELO National News Agency, as it is to be called in full, will also take up publishing after it is technically retooled, Kapanadze said.

He also noted that the agency now employs about 200 people, including technicians. No staff cuts or increases are planned. The agency aims to concentrate on upgrading its workers' skills.

Georgia's Popular Front Launches New Newspaper

LD3110134890 Moscow TASS in English 1321 GMT 31 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Meri Gabriadze]

[Text] Tbilisi October 31 TASS—Georgia's popular front has launched an independent English-language newspaper. The new GEORGIAN MESSENGER will be politically independent and aims to fill the information gap about developments in Georgia in the West, dispel political myths about the republic and promote Georgian culture, the organisers said.

The newspaper will be sent to Moscow-based foreign embassies, journalists, foreign political centres and news organisations.

The newspaper's editor-in-chief is prominent Georgian philologist Irakli Kenchoshvili. He is assisted by American Louis Peragallo who is a great fan of Georgian culture.

The newspaper will be published twice a month.

Central Asia

Republics, Afghanistan Sign Trade Agreement

LD2910092290 Moscow TASS in English 0913 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Taskent October 29 TASS—Government delegations from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, and Afghanistan signed a memorandum here on economic cooperation.

The documents signed during the talks envisage expanding the supply of electric power to the towns and villages of Afghanistan, constructing helicopter pads, paving roads, and providing amenities to populated areas in Afghan border provinces, building new hospitals, establishing joint ventures and developing cross-border trade.

Kazakhstan Imposes Export Curbs on Various Goods

PM0111115590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Oleg Stefashin: "Export Restrictions"]

[Text] Kazakhstan—The Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers has introduced strict

"customs" controls over the exportation or mailing out of the republic of a huge number of goods.

The document notes that these regulations are temporary and have a single aim: to stabilize the domestic market which is experiencing the most acute crisis. The situation in Kazakhstan is indeed complex, and the most resolute measures are needed to change it. However, it is doubtful that the methods which the republic's government is trying to use to solve very difficult problems are the right ones.

Judge for yourselves: Henceforth all post offices will be obliged to return parcels to the population if they contain foodstuffs, industrial goods manufactured by state enterprises, or imported goods. The list of "strategic" goods, which may change at the local authorities' discretion, includes fabrics, down and fur articles, hosiery, footwear, soap, furniture, domestic equipment, electrical devices—in short, everything that has long been missing from local stores. An exception will only be made for old and worn-out items.

Kirghizia Legislature Adopts Sovereignty Decree

LD3110143890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] At the extraordinary session of the Kirghizia Supreme Soviet which has ended, the matter of providing services for the office of the republic's president was discussed. A commission was set up to study this matter.

The session adopted in its first reading a declaration on the state sovereignty of the republic.

Kirghiz Committee for Economic Reform Established

LD3110222190 Frunze Domestic Service in Kirghiz 1300 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] By the decree of the president of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], a State Committee for Economic Reform of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers has been formed as a permanent body of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers.

Kirghizia Appoints New Deputy Premier

LD3110224990 Frunze Domestic Service in Kirghiz 1300 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] By a decree of the president of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], Comrade Koychiyev Turar Koychiyevich has been appointed deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Economic Reform attached to the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers.

Protesters Demonstrate at Kirghiz Legislature

PM3110141790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 90 p 1

[Report by correspondent K. Bayalinov: "Kirghizia. No President Yet"]

[Text] Once again, after a long interval, pickets are out on the streets of Frunze, this time in connection with the extraordinary Supreme Soviet session. Fourteen people have gone on hunger strike. Tents have been set up outside the Central Committee building, where the Kirghiz parliament is in session.

The hunger strikers are demanding that the session make a just assessment of the Osh events.

According to the laws on states of emergency and curfews, the participants in the protest should be arrested forthwith. However Militia Colonel F. Kulov, the city commandant, has assumed responsibility, appealing to the session to grant him the right to act as the situation

warrants. We recall that this summer, on the eve of the well-known events, the colonel averted bloodshed by not allowing troops and armored equipment to be used to suppress the demonstrators—as the leadership had demanded.

In the opinion of a number of people's deputies, the situation could be complicated by the fact that some students are ready, as soon as they get the word, to rise up in defense of the hunger strikers' demands, and the question unexpectedly raised at the session regarding the election of a president for a five-year term without any preliminary discussion or nationwide referendum will exacerbate the already quite delicate relationship between the north and south of the republic.

Stop the press: After a lengthy debate none of the contenders for the post of first president of Kirghizia had gained the necessary number of votes. New elections will be held. The hunger strikers have withdrawn their demands.